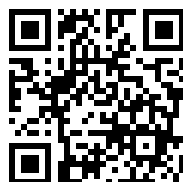
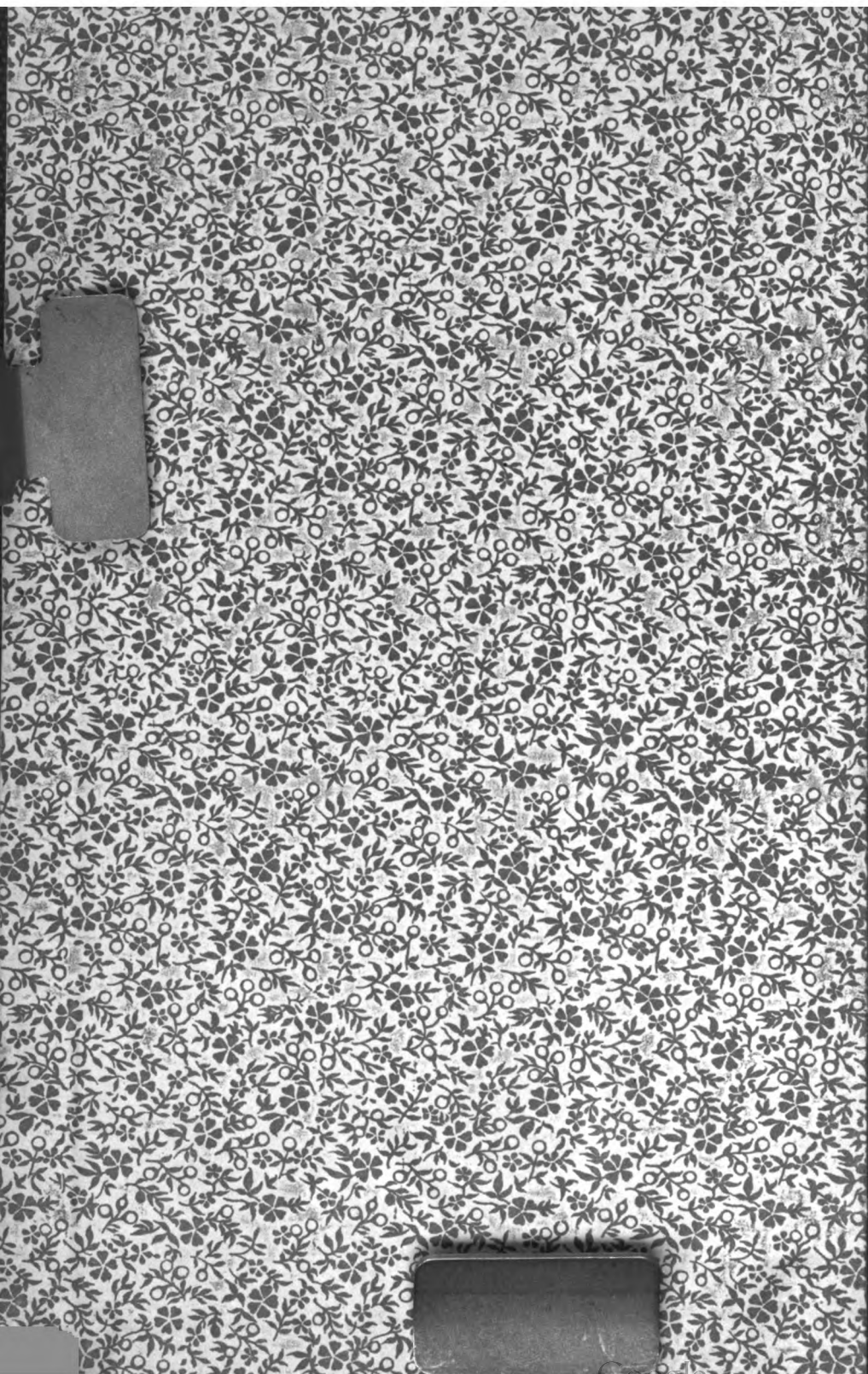
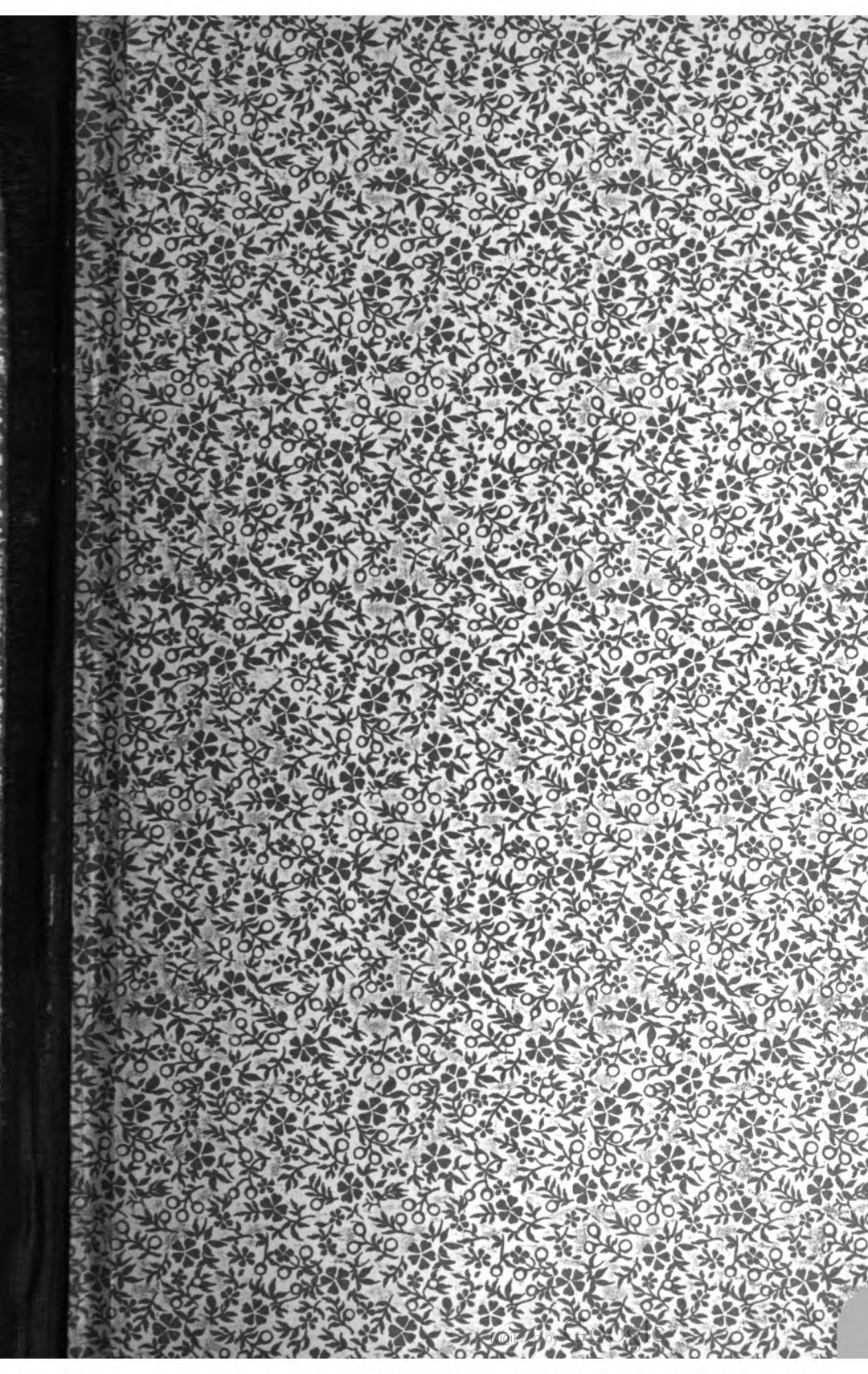

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THE
AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XL, I.

WHOLE No. 157.

I.—THE FABLE OF THE CROW AND THE PALM-TREE: A PSYCHIC MOTIF IN HINDU FICTION.

Note.

The following pages are concerned with a lost Hindu fable about a crow (kāka) and a palm-tree (tāla), which appears in literature strictly only in the shape of the allusive derivative adjective kākatāliya, 'pertaining to the crow and the palm-tree'. By way of introduction, other derivatives from compounded fable words, which occur in the literature and grammatical treatises, call for explanation or discussion.

The fable of the crow and the palm-tree is as follows: A crow alights upon a palm-tree just at the moment when the tree is falling, making it appear that the insignificant animal causes the downfall of the majestic tree. This turns out, in the light of the present treatment, to be an important psychic motif of Hindu fiction. In accordance with a plan for encyclopedic treatment of Hindu Fiction, stated some years ago,¹ the main

¹ See my articles, 'On Recurring Psychic Motifs in Hindu Fiction, and the Laugh and Cry Motif', JAOS. xxxvi. 54-89; and, 'On the Art of Entering Another's Body': a Hindu Fiction Motif, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, lvi. 1-43. Preceded by, 'The Character and Adventures of Mūladeva, ibid. lii. 616-50; and, 'On Talking Birds in Hindu Fiction', Festschrift für Ernst Windisch, 349-61. Dr. E. W. Burlingame has published, in the same spirit, 'The Act of Truth (Saccakiriya): a Hindu Spell and its Employment as a Psychic Motif in Hindu Fiction', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1917, pp. 429-67.

purpose of this article is a study, as exhaustive as possible, of the *kākatāliya* motif.

Derivatives from compounds alluding to fables.

Hindu literature contains a liberal allowance of allusions to familiar fables which carry, by a word or two, the suggestion to the reader or hearer of the import of the fable. It is done, as with us, by mere mention of the chief actors or the chief properties that occur in the fable, such as 'the wolf and the sheep'; 'sour grapes'; 'strange feathers', etc. Now the language is facile in making compounds, and this results in the rather striking outcome of a number of compound words which join, with significant closeness, a pair of animals of the fable, or an animal and some inanimate object. As these dvandva pairs take on to themselves derivative grammatical suffixes, they become compact words of considerable length, calling for grammatical treatment; they are, therefore, preserved partly in literature, and partly in grammatical treatises. The final outcome is rather curious: the grammarians as well as the literature itself, have some fable compounds that are perfectly clear, and they have some whose import is obscure and disputable. Their number is not as large as is the interest attaching to them. We may wonder, by the way, whether Western literatures contain allusions to fables, no longer quite intelligible, because the fable itself has passed out, or has become obscured by later rifacimento, or popular mishandling.

Kākolūkam, kākolūkiyam, and kākolūkikā.

There are three derivatives from a copulative compound of the two birds' names *kāka*, 'crow', and *ulūka*, 'owl', namely, *kākolūkam*, *kākolūkiyam*, and *kākolūkikā*. The last of these words is reported in glosses (*vārttikā*) to Pāṇini 4. 2. 104; 3.125; it would seem that the word *kathā*, 'story', must be supplied with it. The compound *kākolūkam* occurs in a gloss to Pāṇini 2. 4. 9; it means 'crow and owl'. The third, *kākolūkiyam*, 'pertaining to crow and owl', is the name given by the Pāñcatantra itself to the third book of that collection of fables,¹

¹ *kākolūkiyaṁ nāma tṛtīyaṁ tantram*. See Weber, *Indische Studien* xiii. 486; Benfey, *Das Pāñcatantra*, i. 37, 335 ff.

meaning, 'The story, or the book, of the crows and the owls'. Now this book deals with the enmity, or the war, between the crows and the owls; the words *kākolūkikā* and *kākolūkiyam* are, therefore, usually, but not precisely, so translated. Be this as it may, these words point not only to that remarkable section of the *Pañcatantra*, but also to popular storiettes and adages, based upon that hostility.

As regards the basis of this conception in the *ṛ̥ṇos* (*svabhāva*)¹ of the two birds, very little can be adduced from accounts of the surface behavior of the two bird kinds, or from their recorded natural histories. The Western representatives of the two species are not in the habit of carrying on pitched battles. Owls are blind by day; crows do not see by night: *Vāsavadattā*, Introduction, stanza 6; *Pūrṇabhadra*, *Pañcākhyānaka*, p. 131, l. 10; *Kalyāṇamandirastotra* 3 (*Indische Studien* xiv. 378); *Böhtlingk*, *Indische Sprüche*, nrs. 2805, and 142, 2214, 3814, 3895, 4668, 6855; *Ramaswami Raju*, *Indian Fables*, pp. 21 ff.; *Benfey*, *Das Pañcatantra*, vol. i, p. 252. The oldest names of both birds, *kāka*, 'crow', and *ulūka*, 'owl', are derived from onomatopoeic cacophonies. So also *ghūka*, another name of the owl (*Sprüche*, 3814)². The crow frequents dung-heaps; says *kāka-kāka*, or *kā-kā* (*Jātakas* 339 and 451);³ and is, in every way, conceived to stand at the bottom of the ornithological species.⁴

But the owl, too, is 'no great shakes'. When the owl is a candidate for the kingship of the birds, the crow remonstrates: 'Crooked-nosed, squint-eyed, gruesome, and repulsive is the owl to look upon, even when he is not angry. How will it be when he is in wrath?' Thus in *Pañcatantra* 3. 75 (ed. Kosegarten); 3. 78 (Bombay edition); *Tantrākhyāyikā* 3. 2; *Pūrṇabhadra* 3. 68, etc. Or, *Ulūka Jātaka* (270), 'Hold on, this

¹ *Mṛcchakaṭikā* 3. 2: *ṣahāviadoṣe na ṣakki vālidum* = *svābhāviko doṣo na ṣakyo vārayitum*, 'a fault inherent by nature cannot be checked'.

² *ghūka-ghūtṛtāiḥ*, *Rāuhineya Carita* 5.

³ So also in the folk story in Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. i, p. 224. Ironically, we are 'caw-caws', we are 'caw-caws', croak the crows, frightened by the shriek of owls: *Subhāṣitārṇava* 214 (*Sprüche*, 5940).

⁴ See my note on, 'Haṇsa and crow', in 'The Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior *Pārṣvanātha*', p. 187.

fellow (the owl) has such a face at the moment of his coronation: what sort of a face will he make when he is wroth? When he will look at us in anger we shall burst right here (tattha-tattha) like sesame seeds on a hot pan. I do not like to make him king; he does not please me, he does not please me.' The birds chose the golden Haṃsa as king. Henceforward the two birds nursed enmity towards one another.¹

It is conceivable that the owl, perched, unseeing by day, on the numberless branches of the huge banyan trees of India, challenged in some way the predatory instincts of the crow; and, vice versa, that the crow, blind by night, is the owl's object of attack. Or, the acknowledged offensiveness of the two may have furnished the motive for their reciprocal dislike. Hindu literature, at any rate, reports this hostility with most certain voice. Hemacandra reports *kākāri*, 'enemy of the crow', as a kenning for 'owl'. In *Samayāmāṭṛkā* 4. 7 the words 'owl-faced', 'crow-necked', or 'cat-eyed' describe people that are forever quarreling. In *Aṭṭhāna Jātaka* (425), 'the Jātaka of impossible conditions', the Bodhisat offers to return to the house of an ungrateful and rapacious courtesan,

'When crows and owls shall meet to talk in converse privily,
And woo each other, lover-like, the thing perchance may be'.

How likely this is may be gathered from the same list of ten impossible conditions, e. g.,

'When woven out of tortoise-hair a triple cloth you see,
For winter wear against the cold, perchance it then may be'.

In the story of *Suṣṇorī*, in the Tibetan Kanjur, the man taunts that lightskirt similarly: 'When the crow and the owl shall nest upon the same tree and enjoy bliss; when the cobra and the ichneumon (mongoos) shall live harmonious in the same hole, then will you virtuous be'.² The Chinese *Avadāna*

¹ See Stanislas Julien, *Les Avadānas*, vol. i, pp. 41-46, a sophisticated account of the birds' choice of a king. The owl is proposed, because he sleeps by day, but is awake by night, and keeps guard over the birds. The parrot here takes the place of the crow in objecting to the repulsive owl. The parrot is elected.

² See Schiefner, *Mélanges Asiatiques* (Bulletin of the Academy of St. Petersburg) 1876, p. 746. In Ralston's recast, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 234, the simile of crow and owl is wanting.

applies these impossible conditions, with some changes, to a different theme, namely the search for Buddha relics: 'Si des corbeaux et des hiboux habitaient ensemble dans un même lieu, et vivaient entre eux, en bonne harmonie, on pourrait chercher des reliques du Bouddha.' See Stanislas Julien, *Les Avadānas*, vol. ii, p. 114.

In *Kosiya Jātaka* (226), '*Owl Jātaka*', an owl enters a thicket of bamboo, and hides in it. There comes a flock of crows: 'We will catch him', say they, 'as soon as he shall come out'. They surround the thicket; out comes the owl before his time, not waiting until the sun should set, and tries to make his escape. The crows surround him, and peck him with their beaks, till he falls to the ground. Feebly, the apolog teaches the Buddhist monks not to leave their dwelling before the right time. Turn about is fair play. In *Hitopadeṣa* 4. 47 = *Kāmandakiya-Nītisāra* 9. 40, the crow is the under dog: 'He that engages in battle, at an untimely season, is slain by him that fights in season, like the crow whom the owl deprived of his eyesight at midnight.'

This apophthegm is an allusion to what may be called the old historical fable of the two birds, which was floating property before it entered the wonderful frame-story of the third book of the *Pañcatantra*. It occurs in *Mahābhārata* 10. 1: The defeated Kurūide heroes, *Kṛpa*, *Açvatthāman*, and *Kṛtavarma*, in their flight, arrive at sunset in a forest under a banyan tree. As night comes on, *Kṛpa* and *Kṛtavarma* sleep, but *Açvatthāman* observes an owl which bravely comes on and kills many crows, perched upon the branches of the tree. Having killed them, the owl rejoices, because 'he has, as destroyer of his enemies, revenged himself upon them to his heart's content' (*pratikṛtya yathākāmaṁ çatrūṇāṁ çatrusūdanāḥ*, 10. 1. 44). After some parley with his companions, *Açvatthāman* attacks by night the camp of the *Pāṇḍu*ides, and succeeds in almost wiping them out.

Most of these ideas enter into the composition of the *kāko-lūkiya* book of the *Pañcatantra*. They are, without doubt, to a considerable extent echoes of that most popular book, but, for my part, I would not doubt that apolog and apophthegm busied themselves with the interrelation of these two birds prior to the composition of the *Pañcatantra*, as they did without doubt,

busy themselves with them individually. The Pañcatantra story¹ represents a political intrigue, carried on by the ministers of the kings of the two species; this is done with a positively virginal innocence of any kind of morality. Their enmity is motivated by the story of the election in the past by the birds of a king, in which the owl's candidacy is 'queered' by the crow. The motif, 'owls blind by day; crows unseeing by night', enters strongly: In a banyan lives the king of the crows, Meghavarṇa, 'Cloud-color', surrounded by many crows. The king of the owls, Arimardana, dwells in that region in a mountain cave, which serves as castle. By night he circles about the banyan, killing so many crows that the tree is gradually depleted. Meghavarṇa consults his ministers, one after another. In good Hindu fashion they offer more or less Macchiavellian advice, the one last consulted regularly rejecting the plan of his predecessor. Finally Meghavarṇa consults Sthirajivin, an old ex-minister of his father, who craftily stages a sham rupture with Meghavarṇa. In the presence of servants, Sthirajivin uses unbridled language against his liege lord; the king attacks him with light pecks of his beak, and smears him with blood made ready for that purpose. The king then retires with his crows to the vicinity of the castle of the owls. A spy crow reports this important event to Arimardana, the king of the owls. The old minister Sthirajivin places himself in the way of Arimardana, and proposes to betray the present refuge of the crows. Here again the king consults his ministers as to the advisableness of trusting a former enemy. After a to and fro of conflicting saws of political wisdom, the king decides to trust. Sthirajivin, afraid to live with the owls in their castle, where he would be under constant surveillance, asks modestly for a habitation outside. Every day he throws a splinter of wood upon his lair, in order to fire the castle; flies by day, when the owls are blind, to Meghavarṇa, and orders the crows to come each with a burning splinter to the castle of the owls, and throw it upon his nest at the gate. In a final Ragnarök the owls are roasted in their stronghold, as tho in the hell Kumbhipāka, 'Pot-Fire'. Meghavarṇa returns to his banyan to a life, with his crows, that is henceforth merry and secure.

¹ A rationalized version of this story is quoted from the Chinese Avadānas by Stanislas Julien, *Les Avadānas*, vol. i, pp. 31 ff.

Ahinakulam and ahinakulikā.

Much more obviously founded on their nature (svabhāva) is the hostility of another pair of animals, namely that of the serpent and the ichneumon or mongoos, as expressed in a compound, or a derivative from that compound. The scholiast to Pāṇini 2. 4. 9 mentions ahinakulam, 'serpent and mongoos'; the scholiast to Pāṇini 4. 2. 104, and Māhābhāṣya 4. 74 report the derivative ahinakulikā. The latter presumably means 'story of the serpent and mongoos'; the strife between the animals is implied, but not expressed.¹ Clear up from AV. 6. 139. 5, 'as the ichneumon tears the serpent', down to modern days, as may be seen in Kipling's story Riki-Tiki-Tava, this enmity is well understood and expressed in literature. Tho the Nakula Jātaka (165) lamely narrates a great success on the part of the Bodhisat in reconciling the pair,² the Tibetan version of the Aṭṭhāna Jātaka (425), quoted above, asserts, 'When the snake and the ichneumon dwell in the same hole, and put up with each other, then shalt thou be virtuous'; see Schiefner in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1876, p. 764; Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 234. When the two animals must live together temporarily, their native antagonism crops out, as in the Tibetan Tale, Ralston, *ibid.* p. 308. The same text, p. 33, has a passage which brings out the familiarity of the conception: A snake and an ichneumon, which had quarreled and were fighting with each other, begged that the king might be asked on what account they, as soon as they saw each other, day by day, became angry and began to fight.' A naive explanation follows on p. 35: 'When ye were men, ye were born as brothers. One of the two said, "Let us divide our property." But the other would not consent to the division. On that account, the one, being too covetous, was born again as a snake; but the other, inasmuch as he was excessively covetous and clung to his property, was born as an ichneumon.'

In Bhāvadevasūri's Pārçvanātha Caritra 7. 828 the Savior Pārçva's attendant Yakṣa stands devotedly by his side,³ holding

¹ See Weber, *Indische Studien*, xiii. 486.

² AV. 8. 7. 23 the ichneumon and serpents occur together as discoverers of remedies, but the serpents here are the mythic Nāgas.

³ Read pārçve for pārçvo, and see the author's 'The Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārçvanātha, pp. 19 and 167.

in his two left arms an ichneumon and a serpent (nakulāhī) : in his right two arms a citron and a serpent. The symbolism of the passage is too frenzied for confident interpretation, but I suspect that the two animals, nestling together, are an extreme illustration of peace on earth, due to the evangelism of the Savior.

Finally Vāsavadattā, introductory stanza 5, bestows upon the serpent the epithet nakuladveṣin 'mongoos-hater'; vice versa, ahidviṣ 'serpent-hater' is reported in the lexicons as a kenning of the mongoos. The Hindu fable holds the idea in great esteem. In Pañcatantra 1. 20; Hitopadeṣa 4. 5 the mongoos is, *ex officio*, the destroyer of the serpent. In the frame story of the second book of the Pañcatantra, hostility between serpent and ichneumon is listed in a long catalog of natural hostilities; see, Tantrākhyāyikā 2. 25; Pūrṇabhadra, p. 131, ll. 8 ff. The chef-d'oeuvre based upon this idea, namely, the story of the faithful ichneumon who guards the Brahman's child; kills, in his service, a cobra which endangers the child's life; and is in turn killed, because his bloody snout and paws render him suspect of having himself killed the child, is the theme of Pañcatantra 5. 2; Hitopadeṣa 4. 13. Its almost unbelievable propagation thru literature has been sketched by Benfey in § 201, pp. 479 ff.,¹ of his masterly Introduction to the Pañcatantra. It is vividly alive in the folk-lore of India to this day; see, e. g. Kingscote, Tales of the Sun, p. 162.

Peacock and porcupine as enemies of serpent.

Aside from the mythical and legendary Garuḍa, the snake-killer par excellence, the serpent is also subject to the enmity of the peacock and the hedge-hog, or porcupine. 'The serpent and the peacock amused themselves under the same tree', is a golden age motif in Nāṭeśa Sāstri's Folklore of Southern India, p. 137. Similarly, in Čatrumjaya Māhātmyam 10. 9 ff., beasts mutually hostile, as cats and mice, lions and elephants, serpents and peacocks, are said to live in harmony on one of the peaks of mount Siddhādri; see Indian Antiquary xxx. 289. 'The snake-belts about the sandal-tree loosen, as soon as a peacock settles upon that tree': Kalyāṇamandirastotram

¹ Cf. also, vol. ii, p. 548 of that work.

stanza 8 (Indische Studien xiv. 380). 'Tho the peacock lives by the waters of the cloud, yet he daily devours serpents': Rājatarāṅgiṇī 6. 309. Hence the peacock's kennings, *ahidviṣ* and *ahibhuj*, 'serpent-hater', and 'serpent-eater'.

In a charm against snake poison, AV. 5. 13. 9, 'The prickly porcupine, tripping down from the mountain did declare this: "Whatsoever serpents, living in ditches, are here, their poison is most deficient in force"': see Bloomfield, SBE. xlii. 28, 428. In Sāliya Jātaka (367) a wizard makes a boy seize a poisonous serpent, as tho it were a hedgehog, and is himself killed by the serpent when the boy (Bodhisat) manages to rid himself of the serpent; the contrast is without doubt based upon the same idea. Serpents are enemies of hedgehogs in Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales from the Panjāb*, pp. 105, 110.

Other animal hostilities.

The compound *çvāvarāhikā*, 'enmity between the dog and the boar', is cited in a gloss to Pāṇini 4. 2. 104; *çvaṣṛgālam*, 'dog and jackal', in a gloss to Pāṇini 2. 4. 12. Neither combination has any discoverable standing in fable or fiction, but it is easy to see that dog and boar may clash at the chase; dog and jackal, in the homely animal life of village outskirts, infested by both animals.

There is a list of natural hostilities, referred to above (p. 8) in the frame story of the second book of the *Pañcatantra* (e. g. *Tantrākhyāyikā* 2. 25; *Pūrṇabhadra*, p. 131, ll. 8 ff.). In *Tantrākhyāyikā* they are horse and buffalo; cat and mouse; serpent and mongoos. *Pūrṇabhadra* has a long catalog, listing hostilities of gods, men, animals, and even inanimate objects.¹ The animals here paired are: serpent and mongoos; grass-eaters and claw-fighters; dog and cat; lion and elephant; crow and owl; see also the passage from the *Çatruṃjaya Māhātmyam*, in the preceding rubric. In the epic fable, *Mahābhārata* 12. 138 (4930 ff.); *Kathās*. 33. 106 ff.; Benfey, *Das Pañcatantra*, vol. i, pp. 543 ff., cat and mouse discuss these hostilities elaborately.

¹ In the Chinese Buddhist fable, Julien, *Les Avadānas*, vol. ii, p. 109, antagonism is stated between fire and dry trees. In *Pañcatantra* 4. 1 (e. g. *Pūrṇabhadra*, p. 232, l. 12) friendship of fire and grass is said to be incredible (*açṛaddheyam etat, tṛṇānāṃ vahinā saha premabandhaḥ*). Even precious stones scratch one another; see Hertel in *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie*, 1904, part 5, p. 121 (note on line 1183).

Heron and fishes.

The majority of these hostile pairs in dualic catch-words we hear of no further in fable. On the other hand, the relation of the heron or crane (*baka*) to fish, his 'kill', is abundantly exploited, so as to become proverbial, but no compound exists that expresses this hostility. From the start the well-known fable pervades all allusions. The 'old heron of the lake', *ṛddhabaka* (*Pañcatantra* 1. 7; *Hitopadeṣa* 4. 6), or *jīṇṇakoṇica* (*Dhammapada* 155), is the typical hypocritical ascetic for the law-books: *Manu* 4. 196; *Viṣṇu* 93. 9. He even manages to figure as the symbol of asceticism sans reproche, *Ārṇagarapaddhati*, *Bakāñjokti* 4 (*bakavrata*); *Pañcatantra* 4. 51 = *Subhāṣitārṇava* 102 (*māuna*); *Böhtlingk*, *Indische Sprüche*, 4873 (*bako dhyānavān*); *ibid.* 6950 (*sarvendriyāṇi saṃyama*); *ibid.* 6393, 6394 (*bakaḥ paramadhārmikah*). Nevertheless, this same ascetic is so much in need of fish to live on, that the benign powers arrange it for him, *Āsaṅkā Jātaka* (380) and *Aṭṭhasadda Jātaka* (418). When the infirmities of old age prevent him from getting them any longer, he perishes, *Dhammapada* 155: *acaritvā brahmacariyam aladdhā yobbane dhanam, jīṇṇakoṇicā va jhāyanti khīṇamacche va pallale*, 'They who do not practice virtue, do not accumulate wealth in youth, perish like old herons at a lake that has become destitute of fish.'

The note of reprobation which pervades the classical fable is sounded, or the fable itself is hinted at: 'When the heron kills a fish, he makes a great noise; the lion that kills an elephant in rut, (merely) inserts his claws': *Āukasaptati* 70. 'Who would compare the crane that destroys the families of fish with the moon that delights men?': *Kathākoṣa*, p. 223. 'He that publishes his secret when his work is half done, is destroyed as the heron by the crab': *Böhtlingk*, *Indische Sprüche*, 624. The heron is the symbol of cruelty: *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, 1884, p. 107.

The classical fable of the heron, the fish, and the crab, *Pañcatantra* 1. 7; *Hitopadeṣa* 4. 6; *Tantrākhyāna*, st. 35 (37); *Kathāsaritsāgara* 60. 79 ff.; *Baka Jātaka* (38), tells how an old heron on the shore of a lake, no longer able to catch fish, feigns piety; induces the fish to get him to carry them to another lake; and eats them one and all. He then tries the same tactics upon a

crab who, however, cuts his throat with his shears. The fable's propagation and origin is discussed by Benfey, *Das Pañcatantra*, i. 174 ff.; its existence prior to its literary renderings seems to me probable. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. i, pp. 342 ff. repeats three popular versions of the fable; see also Ramaswami Raju, *Indian Fables*, p. 88. In *Bāudhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra* i. 13 there is a curious rite at which fish are, apparently, sacrificed to herons at the foot of an udumbara tree, with evident allusion to the fable. See Winternitz, *Das Altindische Hochzeitsritual*, p. 101; and Zachariae in *Vienna Oriental Journal* xviii. 299.

Ajākrpāṇīyam.

There are finally two derivatives, each from a pair of words alluding to fables; both times an animal and an inanimate object are correlated. The scholiast to Pāṇini 5. 3. 106 reports *ajākrpāṇīya*, 'pertaining to the goat and the knife', and *kākātāliya*, 'pertaining to the crow and the palm'. As regards the former, there are two apologs in Hindu literature in which figure a goat and a knife¹; in one of them the goat swallows a knife and dies; in the other he digs up a knife which is used to sacrifice him'. The latter fable is clearly the equivalent of the well-known Greek apolog, *αἰξ τῆν μάχαιραν*. In *Takkāriya Jātaka* (481) some goat thieves, having stolen a she-goat, decide to eat her, but find they have no chopper. 'Without a chopper', say they, 'we cannot eat the beast, even if we kill her: let her go! This is due to some merit of hers'. So they let her go. Now it happened that a worker in bamboo left a knife there hidden among the leaves, intending to use it when he came again. The goat began playing about under the bamboo clump, and kicking with her hind legs, made the knife drop. The thieves heard the sound of the falling knife, and with it delightedly killed the goat, and ate her flesh.

¹ See Pischel, *Vedische Studien* i. 181 ff.; Ludwig, *Ueber Methode bei Interpretation des Rgveda*, p. 34; *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 16. April, 1894; 1. April, 1895; Böhtlingk, *Berichte der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, April, 1901; February, 1895. Also various authors in *JA.* ix. Series, vol. 1, pp. 189 ff.; *WZKM.* xiv. 731; *ZDMG.* xliii. 604-606; xliv. 371, 493, 497; xlv. 737; xlvii. 86; xlix. 186; *BB.* xx. 269.

The other apolog, in which the goat swallows a knife and comes to grief, centres in Mahābh. 2. 66. 8 (Bombay ed.) = 2. 64. 2193 (Calcutta ed.). Notwithstanding much discussion its details are not quite clear, as may be gathered especially from the divergent interpretations of the native commentators; see Pischel, l. c., p. 182; Böhrlingk, *Berichte der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, February, 1895. I quote *ajākrpāṇiyam*—for the first time, I believe—from literature, *Çālibhadra Carita* 5. 125 (ed. Paṇḍit Çrī Dharmakumāra, *Vīrasaṁvat* 2436=1908), where it seems to mean misfortune brought about, or aggravated by one's own action. The gloss given there is: *yathā nipātayitum ānītāyāç çhāgikāyāḥ praharaṇāya vilambitāyāḥ çastraskhalanāt svayam eva praharaṇā, prakarṣaṇam, gurutaram*. It contains the idea of one's self tying the noose with which, or building the gallows upon which, one is to be hanged, and, therefore, represents the first form of the apolog (*αἰξ τῇν μάχαιραν*). In this sense the frase and its apolog are, as we shall have reason to believe, the direct and full opposite of a lost apolog about a crow and a palm, and its catchword *kākatāliyam*.

Kākatāliyam, pertaining to the crow and the palm.

In accord with convincing modern tradition, the fable of the crow and the palm-tree symbolizes good fortune or success, which comes, unexpected, to a beneficiary, who himself seems to be the author of that success, but is in reality not so at all. Time has left its marks of erosion upon both sferes of apolog and apophthegm (*ajākrpāṇiyam* and *kākatāliyam*). In the past, we may emfasize again, the two words expressed, two rather intricate but consciously opposite situations, singularly congenial to the Hindu instinct of moralizing on the strength of vivid experiences in real life.

Unlike *ajākrpāṇiya*, its opposite *kākatāliya* is quite alive in the literature, but its fable has passed out entirely. In the proem to the *Hitopadeça*, stanza 34, we read:

*kākatāliyavat prāptam dṛṣṭvāpi nidhim agrataḥ,
na svayam dāivam ādatte puruṣārtham apekṣate.*

'When fate, (without its own effort) as in the fable of the crow and the palm, sees a treasure lying before it, it does not

itself grasp it, but awaits the work of man.' The implication is that something happens in the fable that is both unexpected, as well as important and pleasing to the crow. In Kathās. 30, 90,

asiddhāniṣṭa-siddheṣṭa-kākatāliyaṃ vismitam,
tatas tam tatra rājānam eko mantri tadābravīt,

the same idea appears: the king is astonished that something undesirable has been averted (*asiddhāniṣṭa*); and that his desire had been accomplished (*siddheṣṭa*) by a favorable chance—something not of his own doing—as in the fable of the crow and the palm.

The story here, Kathās. 30. 72 ff., is of a beautiful princess, Tejasvati, daughter of King Vikramasena of Ujjayinī, who refuses all kings that woo her. But, one day, while on the roof of her palace, she sees a handsome man, falls in love with him, and sends her confidante to him to state her desire. The maid arranges an assignation in a lonely temple, but the man, tho consenting for the time being, flees somewhere else out of fear: a frog is not capable of relishing the fibres of red lotuses.

In the meantime, Somadatta, prince of high lineage, whose father is dead, and whose kingdom has been usurped by pretenders, comes to visit Vikramasena, his father's friend. By chance he enters the very temple chosen as rendezvous. The princess, blind with passion, approaches him, without distinguishing who he is, and makes him her self-chosen husband. Afterwards, separating, the princess returns to her own palace; the prince passes the rest of the night in the temple. In the morning the prince announces himself to the king, and renders an account of the usurpation of his kingdom. The king agrees to assist him in overthrowing his enemies. And he further determines to give him the daughter he has long desired to give away, and, then and there, states his intention to his ministers.

Thereupon the queen tells the king his daughter's adventure, having been informed of it by herself, indirectly thru the mouth of the princess' confidantes. It is at this point that the story pictures the king as realizing that calamity has been averted and his desire attained by favorable chance, as in the fable of the crow and the palm.

As regards the fable itself, Tawney in a foot-note to his Translation of Kathāsaritsāgara, vol. i, p. 271, reports the fol-

lowing epitome of the fable from the mouth of Pandit S. C. Mookerjea: 'This is well known in India now. A crow alighted on a palm-tree, when just about to fall, and so it appeared that his weight made it fall' ('fly on the wheel'). The stanza from the Hitopadeṣa and the preceding story unquestionably illustrate kākātāliya in Mookerjea's sense. The events happen without intentional participation on the part of the persons concerned; the favorable accidents of the story are like the falling of the palm; the participation of the persons like the presence of the crow at the time of palm's falling. This is true also of Mallinātha's gloss to Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya 2. 31, which is in praise of him that acts with discretion (vivekin), to wit: sāhasikasya kākātāliyā siddhir vivekinas tu niyatā 'success on the part of him that acts in passion (without discretion) is like the success of the crow in the kākātāliya fable; success on the part of the discrete man is intentional (conscious of its purpose)'. Not less clearly, kākātāliya refers to an unexpected favorable accident in a passage of Mālatīmādhava, p. 84, l. 7, where the lover Mādhava unexpectedly has the good fortune to save his beloved Mālatī from the sword of an assailant.

Secondary application of kākātāliyam.

By a trick of fate, there exists unquestionably—the case is not unlike that of the goat and the knife—another interpretation of kākātāliya in India herself, differing toto caelo from Mookerjea's. The gist of this is that a crow comes along, just as a palm-tree is falling and is (unexpectedly, suddenly, 'wie jener zur ohrfeige') killed by the falling tree. The scholiasts to Pāṇini 2. 1. 3; 5. 3. 106 explain the word in this sense. Thus, kākātāliyo devadattasya vadhaḥ; and, tatra kākātālaçabdāu dravyasahacaritāyām kriyāyām vartate, kākasyāgamanam iva Cāitrasyāgamanam, tālasya patanam iva dasyor upanipāta . . . tatas tena tālena patatā yathā kākasya vadhas tathā dasyunā Cāitrasya; see Weber, Ind. Stud. iii. 362, 368; xiii. 486; Benfey, Das Pañcatantra, i. 186; Pischel, Ved. Stud. i. 183. Now there are a number of instances in which kākātāliya means something like 'not intended, unexpected, accidental, rash', without any implication of something favorable, but rather, the other way, with implication of something unfavorable, such as appears in the grammarians' interpretation of the word.

In Rāmāyaṇa 3. 45. 17 Rāvaṇa is reproached with having brought upon himself the kākātāliya enmity of Rāma, tad idaṁ kākātāliyaṁ vāiram āsāditam tvayā. The idea here can be nothing else than 'unexpected, unforeseen, rash, violent'. In Mahābhārata 12. 176. 11 (6596) a camel unexpectedly flies away with two bullocks, tied across his back, to their destruction (kākātāliyam utpathena dhavathah).¹

It is a good guess, that, of the two versions of the lost fable, Mookerjee's is correct and primary; that of the Pāṇinean Scholiast, garbled and secondary. For there is no road from the drab and pointless second form to the shrewd and witty first form. Still less is the application of the fable to events, in which an unexpected or pleasing outcome is kākātāliyavat, derivable from the barer use of the word in the sense of 'unexpected, sudden, thoughtless, rash'. Conversely, it is quite natural that the notion of pleasing and unexpected surprise should fade out into that of surprise merely, with the jocund element left out. Be this as it may, the kākātāliya idea in the sense of unexpected, undeserved, surprising success appears in Hindu fiction as a really fecund motif, and is equally well represented in universal fiction.

'Doctor Allwissend', or, 'Doctor Know-it-all.'

The story of the princess Tejasvatī is illustrated in Kathāsaritsāgara, 30. 92 ff. A poor and foolish Brahman, Hariṇarman,² is in the humble service of a householder, Sthūladatta. At the marriage feast of Sthūladatta's daughter he is sorely neglected, so that he cannot fill himself up to the throat with ghee and flesh and other dainties. So he decides to win respect by displaying, by means of an artifice, assumed knowledge. He hides away from Sthūladatta's house the horse which his son-in-law is in the habit of riding, and, in the morning, sends his

¹ Benfey, Pañcatantra i. 186, finds the expression kākātāliyam idam, in the introduction to the fable 'Lion and Hare' (his Pañcatantra i. 8), where kākātāliya fits not at all badly in the sense of 'unexpected, violent'. But I cannot find that expression at the head of any existing Pañcatantra version of that fable, not even in Benfey's own translation, vol. ii, p. 62.

² According to Benfey, in the article cited at the end of this story, Hariṇarman means 'Blockhead'.

wife to his distressed master to tell him that her husband, being a skilled necromancer, will be able to tell where the horse is. Hariçarman next betrays the whereabouts of the horse, which is easily found. Henceforth Hariçarman is greatly honored, and so far, it may be observed, Hariçarman is the architect of his own fortune. After a time the treasury of the king is looted, whereupon the king summons Hariçarman, on account of his reputation for supernatural knowledge. He is placed in a chamber of the palace, where he is to excogitate the theft. Now in the palace was a maid Jihvā ('Tongue') who had stolen the treasure with the assistance of her brother. As she is living in terror, she goes by night to the door of that chamber, to find out what Hariçarman is about. Hariçarman, at that very moment, is blaming his own tongue, which had made a vain assumption of knowledge: 'O Tongue (Jihvā), what is this that you have done, thru desire of enjoyment? Ill-conditioned one, endure now punishment in this place.' The maid Jihvā, falling at his feet, implores him to spare her, and tells him where the treasure is. The king rewards him with villages. The king's minister, however, drops the poison of suspicion into the king's ear, who decides to test his supernatural knowledge by putting a frog inside a pitcher, and making the Brahman tell what is there. Hariçarman, in distress, calls to mind his youth's nick-name of 'Frog': 'This is a fine pitcher for you, Frog, since suddenly it has become the swift destroyer of your helpless self in this place.' After that Hariçarman prospers exceedingly.

The story belongs to the type of 'Dr. Allwissend' ('Dr. Know-it-all'), best known thru Grimm's tale, nr. 98, and elaborated long ago by Benfey in *Orient und Occident*, vol. i, pp. 371 ff. An addendum to this article is published by Reinhold Köhler in the same journal, vol. iii, p. 184 ff., reprinted with very valuable additional notes by Köhler in *Kleinere Schriften von Reinhold Köhler*, vol. i (ed. Johannes Bolte, Weimar 1898), pp. 39 ff. (cf. also pp. 68, 584). The theme is also discussed by Tawney in his *Translation of Kathāsaritsāgara*, vol. i, p. 274; and by Joseph Jacobs, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 244. The latter remarks that the usual form of discovery of the thieves is for the Doctor to have so many days given him to discover the thieves. At the end of the first day he calls out, 'There is one

of them', meaning the days, just as one of the thieves peeps thru at him. Anent this Jacobs calls attention to the title and the plot of Charles Lever's 'One of Them'.

In Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. i, pp. 179 ff., Dr. Allwissend performs five stunts: A poor villager, Appu, joins his fellow-villagers on a trip to sell their produce, taking with him chaff and coconut husks—all he has. They nick-name him mockingly Vedarāla (Doctor). On the way he observes in the jungle a yoke of cattle with letters branded on them. When the party arrives at a village, and asks for shelter in a certain house, the men of the house are cold to their request, and tell that they are worrying because their yoke of cattle is missing. Appu pretends to say sooth, restores the cattle, and obtains a half-share of their value. In another village he restores to the rightful owner a packet of coins stolen by a woman named Sihibuddi, after frightening her by accidentally pronouncing the syllables sihi buddi. Again he obtains half shares. The third time, thieves having broken into the strong-box at the foot of the king's bed, the Doctor, now established in his reputation, is called in by the king to display his power as a soothsayer. Frightened out of his wits, he calls for a rope to make away with himself. After receiving it, he exclaims that the cord is too short, and the elevation insufficient to hang himself by. In this Sinhalese occur the syllables kumandā, the name of the thief, who happens to listen outside. The thief, afraid that he is discovered, restores the loot. Then the king puts fire-flies into a coconut shell, and asks the Doctor what is there. The frightened Doctor decides to kill himself by striking his head against a tree. As he does so, he exclaims, 'O Father! It was as tho a hundred fire-flies flew about'. Lastly, the king holds a bird in his fist, and asks what he holds. Despairingly Appu pronounces a sentence which contains the syllables kurulu 'bird', and is then finally established in prosperity and unshakable reputation. Cf. Parker, ii. 121 ff.; 382 ff.; iii. 437, 438.

The last version is interesting, as showing that the psychic motif underlying 'Dr. Know-it-all' persists independently of any particular set of real properties. Therefore it readily adapts itself to the particular country, language, and environment which takes it up. There is even more local color in a Tamil version, reported by Julien Vinson in *Revue de Lin-*

guistique xv. 332 ff.: A lazy Brahman is driven out by his wife, and bidden to learn some science. He sees successively a rodent, a palm-tree, an owl, and a fox, and makes, in each case, a platitudinous remark about these objects: 'The rodent digs into the earth'; 'the tall palm holds itself straight'; 'the owl opens its eyes and looks aghast'; 'the little fox is starting to run'. With this 'science' he returns to his wife, who believes him.

A washerwoman has lost seven asses in seven months, and complains to the Brahman's wife. She heartens the washerwoman by telling her that her husband has learned a new science. The washerwoman goes to the Brahman, who promises to restore the asses. He goes in search, finds them, and ties them up behind a ruined wall. When the washerwoman comes back, he recites a formula, 'The asses are asleep, asleep; tied to a ruined wall, asleep.' The washerwoman finds them, and rewards him with two bags of silver.

The washerwoman hears from two of the king's servant maids, named Kaṇṇāy and Mūkkāy, that they have dropt a pitcher of gold, belonging to the king, into a well. She refers them to the Brahman, who is cited by the king to find the pitcher. On the way he keeps crying out a sentence, beginning with the words, Kaṇṇukkum mūkkum, etc. This means in Tamil, 'I am in danger of losing my eyes and my nose', scilicet, in consequence of the king's anger, if I don't find the pitcher. The two maids seem to hear their own names, and beg him not to tell that they have dropt the pitcher into the well. Easily he saith sooth, the pitcher is found, and he is rewarded. On returning he meets another sage who says to him, 'Seeing you are so very wise, tell me what I hold in my hand.' In a formula, in which he despairingly expresses his inability to guess, occur the syllables tummitti, 'a sort of date', the very thing his questioner holds in his hand. Again he is rewarded. On returning home, he buries all his treasure. Thieves begin to dig softly for his money, just as his wife asks him how he learned his 'science'. He recites the four platitudes which he had pronounced on seeing the rodent, the palm-tree, the owl, and the fox. They happen, by characteristic kākatāliya chance, to contain statements calculated to scare off thieves. The thieves run away, abandoning their own treasure, which, added to what

he already has, enables the Brahman to live with his wife opulently and happily. Cf. *The Orientalist* i. 37 ff.

In the fourth story of *Siddhi-Kür*, in Jülg, *Kalmükische Märchen*, a good-for-nothing husband is goaded by his wife into entering upon a business expedition. Right at the beginning of his undertaking he manages to lose all his equipment, remaining behind stark naked. Happening into the stable of a Khan, he hides himself in the hay. The Khan's daughter, happening there, drops unaware the life-talisman of the Khan¹, which is enveloped by the dung from a cow. This is swept to one side by a servant maid in sight of the stow-away. Next day the Khan issues a proclamation by drum, and assembles all sooth-sayers, necromancers, etc., bidding them find the talisman. The naked man exposes himself to sight, claims that he is a wizard, and, after arranging for elaborate hocus-pocus, guides the search to the spot where the talisman lies enveloped in cow-dung. Fool that he is, he asks as reward the mere equivalent of the equipment with which he started from home. On returning to his wife, she upbraids him for his folly, and writes a letter to the Khan in which she demonstrates that the preliminary reward is merely to secure the life and health of the Khan, whereupon that generous monarch sends them countless treasures.

On the strength of his reputation the fake wizard is called to a distance where a Khan's son lies incurably sick. His wife is a *Rākṣasī* (ogress), who had come there in the company of a male *Rākṣasa* in the guise of a buffalo, and had married the seven sons of the Khan, six of whom she had devoured, until the sick one alone remained. Our wizard in the course of his doings, gets into the Khan's stable, where he frightens the buffalo into the belief that he understands his true nature. He overhears a conversation between the buffalo and the *Rākṣasī* princess, in which both agree that the wizard has penetrated their disguise, and, further, that, if any one commands them to show their true nature, they must obey.² The wizard orders that, on the next day, all men should appear armed, and all

¹ Motif, 'Life-Index', to be treated elsewhere.

² The idea that the practices of a wizard (*yātudhāna*), or demon (*rakṣas*), give rise to suspicion, accusation, and confession, goes back to very early Hindu conceptions; see the hymn, RV. 7. 104, especially stanzas 14 ff.

women, with bundles of fagots. He commands the Rākṣases to manifest their true nature, whereupon the men slay the buffalo Rākṣasa, and the women burn up the female Rākṣasi. By his wife's cunning, not by his own good sense, he obtains, in consequence of his deed of delivery, wealth and high station.

'Das tapfere Schneiderlein', or, 'The valiant Tailor'.

Stories of the type of Dr. Know-it-all connect the kākātāliya idea with unforeseen, triumphant exhibit of what the Hindus would call matiprakaṣa, or 'mental superiority', which is in every case fictitious. There is another type, in which the same idea applies to exhibits of fictitious physical superiority. The psyche of the two types is precisely the same, as is shown by the fact that they are occasionally blended. I mean the type of stories, told by narrators all over the world, and made famous by Grimm's version of 'Das tapfere Schneiderlein' (nr. 20), 'The valiant Tailor'. The extent to which these ideas pervade the folklore of all peoples may be gathered from Köhler's bibliographic and statistic remarks in *Kleinere Schriften*, pp. 86, 262, 510, 564. There is scarcely a single trait of Hindu stories of this sort which is not repeated in exotic versions, and, vice versa, all the rollicking drollery of these stories, dear to the heart of both young and old children, is to be found in the Hindu stories.

The only story of this type which is, as far as I know, accessible in one of the literary languages of India, is that given in *Dharmakalpadruma* iii, vi, 149 ff., as printed and translated by Hertel in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. lxiv, 1912, fascicle 1, pp. 58 ff.:

A Rājput named Dhīra, 'Bold', anything but bold, is driven into a life of adventure by his ambitious wife, who seeks his destruction. On his journey to another country he meets seven robbers who take away everything he has, stripping him naked. The robbers, being hungry, eat the poisoned food which our hero's wife has given him for his journey, and die on the spot. Dhīra, who has been hanging about there, returns, notices crows over the bodies of the robbers, gathers courage to cut off their heads, and fastens them about his waist.¹ With their weapons

¹ 'Sieben auf einen schlag, wer macht es mir nach?' Köhler, *ib.*, pp. 563 ff., recites an astounding variety of this droll boast. See below.

and clothes, puffed up with pride, he travels on to Hastinapura, where rules King Çrīharṣa. Depositing the robbers' heads at the door of the palace, he enters, and gives an account to the king of his heroic deed. On the strength of this, he is made general, a lakh of gold being his honorarium. A lion happens to infest the country, whereupon the ministers point out, that he who is receiving the lakh ought to kill the lion. The king orders him to do so, but Dhīra pretends that it is beneath his dignity to massacre cattle. He leaves the city, is overtaken by gruesome night, and, in terror, climbs a tree to await the coming of day. The lion comes along, smells human flesh, and roars at Dhīra from under the tree. In terror he drops his lance which kills the lion. In boastful triumph he returns to Hastinapura; is given a province as reward of his heroism; and attains to greatest glory.

Very similar is the Chinese-Buddhist version reported by Chavannes, *Cinq Cent Contes et Apologues Chinois*, vol. ii, p. 205 (nr. 301): A woman conceives hatred against her husband, and, on the occasion of his having business in another country, prepares 500 poison pills, which, she pretends, will strengthen and nourish him on the way. By night, afraid of wild animals, he climbs a tree, leaving the pills, none of which he has as yet eaten, carelessly under the tree. Five hundred robbers halt under the tree, hungry and thirsty. Each eats one pill; all die at the same time. In the morning our hero sees their dead bodies, hits them with sabre and arrows, and takes their saddle-horses and equipment with him. The king of the realm, who has started to exterminate those robbers, meets him, and hears from him an account of his single-handed victory over the 500 robbers. After sending to see whether the robbers are really there under the tree, the king loads him with dignities and rewards. A lion infests the country, and on the advice of his ministers who are jealous of the parvenu, the king sends him to slay the lion. As soon as he sees the lion the hero flees in terror up a tree, and drops his knife from his trembling hand into the gaping maw of the lion. When he reports his victory the king redoubles his favors, and the hero is acclaimed as a celebrity.

Once more Nāṭeśa Sāstrī Pandit, reporting folk stories from Southern India¹, has the following variant: A poor village

¹ See *Indian Antiquary* xiv. 109 ff.; reprinted in Kingscote, *Tales of the Sun*, pp. 107 ff.

Brahman with a childless wife, falls in love with a beautiful girl, and obtains the grudging consent of his first wife to marry the girl. Pregnant with child, the new wife goes to her mother's house for confinement. The Brahman, longing to visit her, obtains the consent of wife number one to visit her, carrying with him, as gift from the first wife to the pregnant co-wife, a hundred poisoned cakes. By night, the Brahman lies down in a travelers' shed. A robber chieftain has sent out a hundred robbers to carry off a princess, whom a neighboring king refuses to give as wife to the robber chieftain's son. They arrive there with the princess on her cot, smell the cakes, eat them, and die. In the morning the Brahman misses the cakes, and angrily takes the sword of one of the dead robbers, and cuts off all their heads, thinking all the while that he is killing a hundred living robbers. The king arrives with an army in pursuit, the Brahman wakes up the princess, and speaks thus: 'Behold before you the hundred robbers that brought you here. I fought one and all of them single-handed, and have killed them all.' The princess, out of gratitude, proposes to become his wife; the king consents to accept her brave preserver as son-in-law.

A lioness living in a wood near that country is in the habit of receiving, as permanent tribute, one man per week. Now the people urge the king to send his son-in-law to dispatch the lioness. Nilly, willy, our hero must make a brave show. As in the preceding versions, he goes up a tree, trembles from fear, and drops his sword into the lioness' jaws, as she yawns. This exploit fully establishes his valor.

On its strength the king ceases to pay tribute to a powerful emperor who is exercising suzerainty over all the surrounding countries. Thereupon the emperor invades the king's country; the king turns to his valiant son-in-law for succor. The poor Brahman starts on his fateful expedition on a mettlesome horse. Unable to control his mount, he has himself tied on with cords. The horse runs away in the direction of the enemy. Passing under a big palmyra tree, he holds fast to one of its branches. The tree is uprooted and dragged along in the swift course of the steed. Horror-stricken at the sight of a warrior, armed with a huge tree, the enemy flees. When the horse is exhausted, it returns to the palace from whose lofty windows the king has

been watching the fray. A splendid triumphal entry inaugurates his now established glory.

Nāteśa Sāstrī heads his story with a Sanskrit *çloka*, obviously a versus memorialis of the story:

apūpena hatāḥ corā hatā khaḍgena kesarī,
turāṅgamena hatam sānyaṁ vidhir bhāgyānusārīṇi.

'By a cake the robbers were killed; by a sword the lioness; by a horse the army. Fate follows good luck.' This points to a literary source, and to a definite number and order of the adventures of 'Tapferes Schneiderlein'. Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 312, reports a parallel verse from Dharmapaṇḍita's *Pañcatantra*, which he regards mistakenly as the superscription to four stories, but which must be an epitome of Nāteśa's story with a fourth additional rodomontade:

apūpena hatāḥ corāḥ aṣṭavegena çatravaḥ,
kāṣṭhasātena sinhaç ca vyāghro 'pi kīṭadaṇṣṭrayā.

The parallel construction of the four incidents, each with *hatāḥ*, is obvious. Equally so is the meaning of the first two *pādas*: 'By a cake thieves were slain; by the swiftness of a horse, enemies (were slain).' The third *pāda* seems to refer to the persistent lion adventure. In the third *pāda* Hertel reads *kāṣṭhaçātena* which he assumes to be=*kāṣṭhakūṭena*, and sees in this *pāda* a reference to the fable of the Woodpecker and the Lion, whose bibliography he summarizes on p. 110, note. But the word alludes to the adventure on the tree: read *kāṣṭha-pātena* for ° *sātena*. The compound then would mean 'by the fall of a cudgel'. The version in question probably has the cudgel in place of the sword. How the tiger of the fourth *pāda* was prevented from eating Schneiderlein by the bite of an insect does not appear here, nor in any of the parallel stories. Even Hertel's great learning and marvelous memory seem to leave him in the lurch, but it is hardly to be questioned that a literary version of our story, including this trait, is in existence somewhere.

Curiously, a tiger figures, but in a totally different way, in a folk-lore version of this story, consisting of only two parts, told by M. Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, pp. 187 ff.: A tiger creeps, during a violent storm, for shelter close to an old woman's hut.

The rain keeps dripping into the hut, so that she is compelled to move the furniture about, and exclaims: 'O dear, I'm sure the roof will come down! If an elephant, or a lion, or a tiger were to walk in, he wouldn't frighten me half as much as this perpetual dripping.' The tiger is thus bluffed into the belief that 'Perpetual Dripping' is something very dreadful.¹

A potter who has lost his ass, seeing the tiger by a flash of lightning, mistakes him for his donkey; seizes him by the ear; and commences beating, kicking, and abusing him with all his might and main. The tiger, thinking he must be 'Perpetual Dripping', submits to being led bound to the potter's house, where he is tied to a post for the night. In the morning news of the potter's exploit spreads thru the village, and thence reaches the king, who in recognition of his valor, confers upon him every possible honor, as well as the command of ten thousand horse.

The second part of the story contains the exploit with the horse and the tree.

The Siddhi-Kür 19 (Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen*, pp. 163 ff.) tells of a poor young weaver who sits weaving in the forest. A lark settles upon his loom; he hits out with his shuttle and kills it. Evidently he construes this as an inspiring or heroic deed, tho the story does not say so. He decides to abandon his unremunerative trade, and to woo the daughter of the King of India. On arriving in that country, there happens to take place a festival in honor of the return of the princess from some journey. At that festival he manages to obtain his fill of food and some silk attached to the image of a garuḍa bird. He gains access to the king, demands his daughter in marriage, and, for some reason, the king consents. The princess refuses to marry a beggar, and, when the king asks what sort of a man she would marry, she replies: 'A man who knows how to make boots out of silk.' Owing to this suggestion, his boots are investigated, and the silk which he had stuck there is brought to light. He rises yet higher in the regard of the king, but the queen will none of him, and craftily plans his destruction. By a quiz, she extracts from him the confession that he has no claim by

¹ Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. ii, p. 396 ff., quotes three other versions of the 'Perpetual Dripping' variety.

wealth or station, but that he is ready to win the princess by exhibitions of prowess.

It happens just then that a hostile army is marching against the kingdom. The queen promises him the princess' hand, in case he should rout the enemy. The queen equips him properly, plies him with strong drink, and furnishes a few soldiers, who, however, soon abandon him. His horse, which he does not know the least bit how to manage, runs away with him into the jungle, so that, in distress, he seizes the branches of a tree, crying, 'I shall surely die.' By this swift impact the root of the tree is torn out, and its trunk smashes many enemies. The rest seek safety in flight. Returning with immense booty, the king is ready to accept him, but the queen insists that he must demonstrate his personal courage, by killing a big fox. Unable to find the fox, he returns, but, on nearing the castle, he notices that he has lost his bow. In the meantime the fox has found the bow, has tried to bite its string in two, and has been killed by the bow itself.¹ When he comes upon his bow, the fox lies dead; he returns with his pelt, in triumph. Yet one more test of his valor he must endure, namely to kill seven demons in the North. The princess, now interested in his welfare, prepares for him seven loaves of rye and seven of wheat. He keeps eating the rye, and one night, as he takes his meal, the seven demons pounce upon him. In his precipitous flight he abandons the wheat loaves; the demons stop to devour them, and die of the poison which the princess has mixed in with the dough. He marries the princess and rules half the kingdom.

The 18th story of the Siddhi-Kür treats the same motif in a secondary, drastic fashion: A silly young man of means is married to a shrewd vixen. He does nothing for a living, passing his time lazily at home. The wife obtains, thru a trade with merchants, the plumage of a griffin; deposits it outside, on the spot where she has traded with the merchants; and harangues her husband, as follows: 'You are no good in a trade, but why should you not, if you went in and out, manage to gain something? What are we going to live on when your inherited

¹This is the familiar fable motif, 'death by bow rebounding after the string is chewed or burned'. See citations by Hertel in ZDMG. lxi. 72 (ad p. 65); and Hertel, *Pañcatantra*, pp. 170, 185; Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 287.

means are all spent?' He goes out, finds the two wings of the griffin, returns triumphantly, and exclaims: 'From this day on I will go out to trade; prepare my food for the journey!' Next day he saddles an ass, rides off, and comes to a cave which serves a robber band as refuge. He climbs upon a rock over the cave and sits down to eat. Some merchants arrive, stack their goods in front of the cave, and place their trumpet at the cave's door. Having eaten excessively he breaks wind, whereupon the trumpet gives forth a mighty sound. The merchants flee in terror, and he returns to his wife with all their goods. How his wife, sceptical of his prowess, manages afterwards to convict him by an obscene trick, is out of the picture, and concerns not our theme directly.¹ Cf. *Pañcīṣṭaparvan* 2. 692 ff.

In *Wide-Awake Stories*, pp. 89 ff.,² Valiant Vicky ('Prince Victor'), a little weaver, dreaming of heroic deeds, happens to kill a mosquito with his shuttle. Elated by this deed of derring-do, he starts from home with a bundle, his shuttle, and a loaf of bread, and comes to a city, where a dreadful elephant daily makes a meal off the inhabitants. He goes to the king, and proposes to meet the elephant single-handed, without weapons, except his redoubtable shuttle. On meeting the elephant he is scared to death, and runs off, dropping his bundle, his shuttle, and his bread. His wife has mixed poison into the bread to rid herself of him; the elephant eats the bread, falls dead, and Vicky seats himself triumphantly on his head.

The king makes Vicky commander-in-chief; sends him out with an army against a devastating tiger; Vicky escapes into a tree; and the army scatters. Tiger and Vicky pass six days watching one another. On the seventh Vicky, starved, attempts to slip past his enemy, but the tiger jumps at him with a roar. As Vicky attempts to swing himself back into the tree, his dagger drops into the open jaws of the tiger, and kills him. He returns with the tiger's head, and marries the princess.

A neighboring king attacks with an army; the inhabitants clamor for Vicky's leadership against the enemy. But Vicky,

¹ For this end of the story see Benfey, *Pañcātānta* i, p. xxv, note; Liebrecht, *Orient und Occident*, i. 116 ff., 136 ff.

² See previously, *Indian Antiquary* xi. pp. 280 ff. Communicated by a Muhammadan at Sopur in Kashmir.

in the middle of the night, decamps with his wife and their golden dishes. As they are stealing by night thru the besieging army's camp a cockchafer flies into Vicky's face. In a terrible taking, he and his wife run home again, and bolt under the bed. The wife has dropped the golden dishes with a clang; the noise arouses the enemy, who, half asleep, cannot distinguish friend from foe in the pitch-dark night. Falling on each other, they fight with such fury that by next morning not one is left alive.

Vicky receives half the kingdom, and rules with great dignity, refusing ever afterward to fight, because kings pay others to fight for them.

In Swynnerton, *Indian Nights' Entertainment*, p. 208, a weaver kills nine flies on his arm, and calls himself Nomar Khan, 'the Nine-killing prince'. He becomes commander-in-chief. Both this and the Vicky story are probably of Western Oriental origin.

Kakātāṭiya blended with other motifs.

A version of 'Valiant Tailor', in which the hero adds bluff¹ to opportunity, is told by Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. i, pp. 312 ff. It is of extra interest, because it blends the present motif with that of 'Jack the Giant-killer'. That this blend is, as it were, inevitable, appears clearly from the analysis of traits of the latter tale, as given by Köhler, *ib.*, pp. 85 ff. In the Jack the Giant-killer type a giant, or devil, or Persian ghul is overcome by a weak person: a boy, more often a tailor, or a schoolmaster. In Parker's story Sigiris Sinno, a drunkard, having begged a coconut, eats it in a travelers' resting-shed. He strikes at the flies which are settling there; kills twenty; and begs a tinner to cut on a sheet of tin the legend: 'I killed twenty.' This tin shield he hangs by a cord on his neck; men who see it step to one side thru fear, and go away. He hears of a king who has a prize-fighting giant: should any one overcome this giant, the king will give him five hundred masuran and the post of Prime Minister. On coming before the king, the latter says: 'I have a giant. Canst thou fight with the giant and

¹This fecund theme (*vyāghramāri*, or 'tiger-killing lady') has been worked up by my former pupil, Dr. William Norman Brown, and will be soon published.

win?' Sigiris replies: 'I am one who has killed twenty giants, better than that one.'

They are first to engage in a swimming contest. The giant obtains ten rupees from the king, in order to buy things to eat while they are swimming. When they have made their purchase Sigiris exclaims: 'What are these few things! For one meal I want six quarts of rice and three bottles of arrack. I can swim for eight or ten months.' The giant backs out of the swimming contest, and proposes a fist-fight. When the king asks Sigiris whether he can fight the giant, he answers: 'I will give that one one blow.' They are to get ready in a month's time, during which they occupy adjoining rooms. Sigiris gets hold of an iron nail, with which he gradually makes thin a spot between the two rooms. The day before that appointed for the fight, he asks the giant for some tobacco. The giant asks, how he can hand it to him; Sigiris tells him to knock a hole thru the wall with his hand. The giant professes himself unable, whereupon Sigiris strikes thru the place which he has previously scraped. On the day of the fight Sigiris thinks in his mind, 'To-day is indeed my Fate. How shall I escape?' The giant's thoughts, thru fear, are much the same. They both look for avenues of escape; the giant runs away first; the king bestows upon Sigiris five hundred masuran, and establishes him in the post of Prime Minister. Cf. Parker, iii. 367.

It is interesting to observe that the 'Valiant Tailor' story, whose hero is an innocent, combines with another type in which the innocence of the hero has, as it were, its last expression. This is the type 'Hans im Glück'¹ (Grimm, nr. 1). In *The Orientalist*, ii, p. 102, there is a story by A. E. R. Corea, in which a man, in search of work, gathers some edible leaves on the road-side. These he exchanges for fishes, a leaf for a fish, in a place where there are no vegetables. He barter the fishes for hoes, and these, again, for oxen, with which he sets off to return home. Having nothing to eat, he continues to give two oxen for two rice-cakes, until, at last, he arrives at his home empty-handed.²

¹ 'Fair exchange is no robbery', in its ironic sense.

² Similarly Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. iii, pp. 304 ff., 336 ff. Cf. also vol. ii, pp. 57 ff.

At this point begin his *kākatāliya* experiences. When he comes before his wife, as poor as he went, she pretends to believe that he will be more lucky next time, and sends him on a new expedition with a viaticum of poisoned cakes. These kill a destructive elephant who rushes upon him, and, on the strength of his seeming exploit, he is made to pass thru the crises of the tiger adventure and the tree fight.

Kākatāliya by proxy.

From the same sphere of conceptions comes the type of story in which the leading personage performs deeds by proxy. The *kākatāliya* element remains the same, namely, the attainment of unexpected, or unwarranted, favorable results by a person wholly unpredestined and unfitted for the adventures incurred. The exploits performed are those of the 'Valiant Tailor'. In *Bhīmasena Jātaka* (80) the Bodhisat is born as a hunch-backed dwarf, named *Culladhanuggahapaṇḍita* ('Wise Little Bow-man'). Being a Brahman he gets a finished education at *Takkasilā*, but realizes that his bodily defects will prevent his success in the world. He decides to use some tall broad man as his stalking-horse, picks a huge weaver, *Bhīmasena*, tells him to vaunt his prowess with the bow, and to seek the service of the king. The king accepts him at a guerdon of a thousand pieces a fortnight; the dwarf acts as his page.

Now at that time a tiger blocks a frequented high-road in *Kāsi*, devouring many victims. The archer, being sent out to kill him, is told by the dwarf to muster a large band of country folk who are to arouse the tiger. When the tiger is aroused the weaver is to bolt into a thicket, and lie down on his face. As soon as the people shall have beaten the tiger to death, the weaver is to come out with a creeper in his hand, and pretend that he meant to lead the tiger by his creeper, like an ox, to the king. The folk will then be frightened, and bribe him heavily not to report them to the king, and the king will also reward him. So it happens, and the same events are repeated in connection with a rampant buffalo.

Whereupon the weaver, intoxicated with his prosperity, begins to treat the Bodhisat with contempt, and to scorn his advice. A hostile king marches upon *Kāsi*, summoning its king

to surrender his kingdom, or to do battle. Bhīmasena is sent out at the head of the army on an elephant, the dwarf seated modestly behind him. At the first note of the martial drum Bhīmasena falls a-quaking with fear, so that he fouls the elephant's back. The dwarf bids him wash and go home; himself dashes into the fight; drags out the hostile king; and leads him in triumph to Benares. From that day all India is loud with his fame. The weaver returns to his home.

In Dhammapada Commentary 2. 3^o¹ kākatāliya effects are also procured by proxy, this time by a charm which a foolish pupil obtains from his teacher, as reward for his devotion. The charm is: 'You're rubbing, you're rubbing! Why are you rubbing? I know too.' Shortly after the young man's return to Benares, the king sets out, à la Harūn-ar-Rashīd, to find out what his people think of him. The first house the king comes to is that of the young pupil. The king observes tunnel thieves breaking into the house. The noise awakens the young man, who begins to repeat his charm, and the thieves flee.

The king learns the charm. That very day the Prime Minister goes to the royal barber, gives him a thousand, and says to him: 'The next time you shave the king, cut his throat; then you shall be Prime Minister, and I shall be king.' While the barber is sharpening his razor, the king begins to repeat the charm.² The barber, thinking that the king is aware of his intention, throws away his razor, falls at the feet of the king, and implores his pardon, afterwards revealing the plot. The king banishes the Prime Minister, and appoints to his place the young man who taught him the charm.

¹ See Burlingame's synopsis, p. 85 of his Translation of that work in HOS.

² The charm in question occurs otherwise in the Tantrakhyāna (Bendall, stanza 34; Hertel, stanza 32); see Hertel, Das Pañcatantra, pp. 319, 327. It is as follows:

ghasasi ghasasi kṣuraṁ saṁbhramaṁ māṁ nirīkṣase,
jñāto 'si tvam mayā dhūrta yaṁ māṁ chalitum ichasi.

Here ghasasi is either corrupt, or Prākṛitism for gharṣasi, in which case it reflects a Prākṛit original. The tale alluded to in this stanza seems to occur here for the first time; but see also the folklore version immediately following.

It is interesting to observe that our application of the *kākatāliya* idea both to 'Dr. Know-it-all' and to 'Tapferes Schneiderlein' is borne out by a folk-lore conglomerate which combines the last mentioned razor motif, obviously pertaining to 'Dr. Know-it-all', with two of the episodes of 'Tapferes Schneiderlein'. In the *Orientalist*, vol. ii, pp. 174 ff., there is a Sinhalese story, by T. B. Panabokke, of a foolish minister (*adigār*), as timid as he is illiterate. The rest of the ministers, out of jealousy, induce the king to command each of his ministers to compose a stanza in his honor. The illiterate one, unable to find anything, perches himself on a rock near his house, brooding upon his failure, which is likely to cost him his office. An old buffalo comes along, and, as is the wont of his species, begins rubbing his neck against the side of the rock. This inspires the minister with a bright idea; he writes upon his tablet: 'Do I not know the reason why you are coming rubbing your neck against the rock?' Now this line in the original means also: 'Do I not know the reason why you are coming whetting your razor?' With this line written four times he presents himself before the king, who is rather taken with its meaningless jingle, and keeps repeating it. Now the other ministers, angered, plan to take the king's life, and bribe the king's barber to cut His Majesty's throat. When the barber comes up, the king, as is his habit, repeats this line. On hearing it the barber prostrates himself; confesses; the ministers are executed; and the stupid one raised to the position of Prime Minister.

Later on this same *adigār* gets again to be regarded with a jealous eye by the *adigārs* that succeed the faithless ones in office. Again they plot against him, and succeed in having him sent out against the lion, and against the hostile army upon a mettlesome horse, in the manner of the normal or unitarian versions of the story.

Incidental kākatāliya.

The two types of *kākatāliya* stories represent without doubt the fable's primary application. Given deficient intellect and deficient strength as starting-points, the shrewd and rude humor of the folk is certain to hit the device of contrasting these shortcomings ironically with the highest success. The paradox is,

paradoxically speaking, most natural. But the *kākatāliya* idea is not likely to restrict itself to this rounded off design. There will be, in stories whose main motif is otherwise, chance of applying the idea as an incidental *deus ex machina* device, even tho the incapacity or unfitness of the hero is not stated or felt so distinctly.

Thus the well-known *Paścātanta* tale, 'Weaver as *Viṣṇu*'¹, is, in the last analysis, also a *kākatāliya* story. The reckless doings of the weaver, calculated to arouse the anger of the god *Viṣṇu*, bring on, at a critical moment, and quite as a pleasant surprise (*kākatāliya*), the aid of that god himself, so that the hero, at the moment of impending disaster, emerges into triumphant success. What is more, the hero is not a particularly worthy person, in point of fact, a weaver, whom we have met before in *kākatāliya* exploits:

A certain weaver falls in love with a beautiful princess. Despairing of fulfilment, he is about to commit suicide, when a friend of his, a carpenter, comes to the rescue. He fashions of wood a mechanical *Garuḍa* bird (*Viṣṇu*'s mount), as well as the rest of the standard mythological belongings of the god. After that he instructs the weaver in the mechanism of the *Garuḍa*, and bids him fly, as *Viṣṇu*, to the apartment of the princess, pretend that he is the god, and enjoy the princess. He does so; easily overcomes the princess' scruples; and unites himself with her by the *Gandharva* rite of marriage. After this has gone on for some time the coral under lip of the princess shows signs of amorous bites, a matter not unnoticed by the eunuchs of the harem. They report the affair to the king, who, in turn, confers with the queen. As soon as they confront the maiden with their well-grounded suspicions, she explains that no less than lofty *Nārāyaṇa* comes to her nightly as her husband. The parents, rejoiced, can hardly await the coming night to witness the glorious sight of the god who has so greatly honored their house. After the king has convinced himself with his own eyes of the truth of his daughter's adventure, he determines, by the might of his son-in-law, to subjugate the

¹ The bibliography of this tale is stated by Hertel, *ZDMG.* lxi. 71 (nr. 33, ad pp. 45 ff.).

whole earth, and, by way of preliminary, commits acts of unrighteousness against his neighbors.

The neighboring rulers ally themselves against the king, and make war against him. Thru his daughter-in-law the king appeals to the weaver, who says to her: 'O beatified, how insignificant are thy father's enemies! Fear not, in a moment I shall crush them with my discus, yclept Sudarçana.' Nevertheless the weaver, in trepidation, lies low for a while, until the king is indeed hard pressed, and his wife becomes very insistent. Then he realizes that complete defeat will include his own discomfiture, and decides to bluff out the rôle of Viṣṇu. The real god Viṣṇu, who knoweth past, future, and present, then says to the real bird Garuḍa: 'Knowest thou that a certain weaver is acting my part, sitting on a wooden Garuḍa? He means to fight in dead earnest, and will surely be killed by the arrows of the enemy. After his death all the world will say that Viṣṇu and Garuḍa have been conquered by warriors, and will cease to honor us. Hie thee, therefore, and enter into this wooden Garuḍa; I, for my part, will transplant myself into the body of the weaver, so that he may annihilate his enemies.' So it happens, and the weaver ever after lives merrily with his wife, greatly honored by the king.

Negative kākātāliya, or 'Biter bit'.

There is a type of story whose main trait is the 'Biter bit' idea¹, widely prevalent, infinitely variegated, which in a negative way suggests the kākātāliya motif operating in favor of the person plotted against. Such stories contain also positive elements of the same sort, because the person plotted against occasionally derives advancement in wealth and station in the final dénouement. Thus in Padakusalamāṇava Jātaka (432) a young couple live together with their two mothers. The daughter, conceiving hatred against her mother-in-law, persuades her husband to kill her. They are to carry her off by night, bed and all, and throw her into the crocodile river. The son, however, preferring the death of the other old lady, puts a

¹ 'Wer andern eine grube gräbt, fällt selbst hinein.' 'Often the harm that one wishes to another recoils on one's self, as a ball thrown against a wall': Kathās. 20. 213.

mark which is to distinguish the two old women by night upon the bed of his mother-in-law, who is thus permanently rendered innocuous by being fed to the crocodiles. Next morning, when the mistake is discovered, the wife says to the husband: 'My lord, my mother is dead, now let us kill yours.' They take her asleep to the cemetery for cremation, but forget to take fire with them. The wife is afraid to go back alone, or to stay there alone, so both return to fetch the fire. The mother, on waking up, realizes the situation, gets up, and stretches upon her bed a corpse, which she covers up with a cloth. Then she escapes into a mountain cave. The couple return with fire, burn the corpse, and return home.

In the cave the mother-in-law finds a bundle which she secures for her own after some adventures. Extracting from it a garment and all sorts of jewels, she returns home. When questioned as to the source of her wealth, she craftily tells her daughter-in-law that all that are burned on a wooden pile in that cemetery receive the same. The daughter-in-law goes and burns herself.

This Jātaka story is repeated circumstantially in Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. iii, pp. 223 ff.

Somewhat differently, Chavannes, *Cinq Cent Contes et Apologues Chinois*, vol. iii, p. 141: A woman who wishes to kill her mother-in-law persuades her husband that if she be burnt she will be reborn as a divinity. They make a great fire, give a feast, and, when the people are gone, push the mother into the fire. She falls on a ledge of the trench in which the fire is built, and escapes. In the dark of the night she climbs up a tree for safety. Robbers come to the foot of the tree with valuables they have stolen, and, when she happens to sneeze, run off, taking her for a demon. In the morning she returns home with a heavy bundle of jewelry, abandoned by the robbers, tells the daughter-in-law that she had become a deity, had therefore received these valuables, and offers to send her also. The fire is made up afresh, the man pushes his wife into it, and she is burnt up.

That the controlling motif of this story is the 'Biter bit', rather than *kākatāliya*, may be seen from the Tibeto-Mongolian story, number eight, in the *Siddhi-Kūr*, as reported by Jülg, *Kalmükische Märchen*, pp. 43 ff.: At the court of the

Khan Kuntshong live two rival artists, a painter and a wood-carver, their souls riven with hostility towards each other. One day the painter presents himself before the Khan with the following statement: 'Your deceased father has been reborn in the realm of the gods. Being called there, I went and beheld his immeasurable lustre and glory. Here is a letter from him addressed to you.' The Khan reads: 'To my son: After parting from life here, I was reborn in the realm of the gods, where I am living in plenty and superabundance. There is, however, one thing I stand in need of, namely, a wood-carver to erect a temple. Send therefore our own wood-carver; how to reach here is known to the painter.'

The story proceeds to tell, with reposeful breadth, how the Khan cites the wood-carver into his presence; communicates to him his pending mission; how the carver scents the malign plot of the painter to destroy him; and how he determines to frustrate him. The painter tells the carver: 'Prepare all the tools needful for the practice of your art; heap a pyre of wood drenched with sesame-oil about yourself; and then reach heaven by mounting the pillar of smoke which will ascend from the pyre.' The carver agrees, and suggests as a convenient place of operation a field near his own house. Then he digs a tunnel from his house to the centre of the field, and covers its opening with a slab of stone, hidden under sod. On the day of the cremation the carver enters the pyre, and, under cover of the first smoke, escapes to his house, where he hides away for a month.

During that time he keeps in the shade, and nourishes himself with milk alone, so as to bleach his complexion. At the end of that time he dons a garment of transparent white silk, in which he presents himself to the Khan with the following letter from his father in heaven: 'My son, I am rejoiced that you are ruling your kingdom in piety and prosperity. In the erection of the temple up here the wood-carver has performed valuable services which are to be rewarded by you with abundant presents. Now, however, all sorts of decorations in paint are needed here in the temple; it is imperative that you promptly send the painter. The manner of ascent is as before.' The painter, on receiving the order of the Khan, and seeing the carver dressed in a garment of transparent white silk, adorned with jewels

which he has received as reward, believes the carver, and thinks that the needful light will come to him during his journey. All is arranged as before: the fire is made ready. The painter, unable to bear the torture, issues howls of pain which are lost in the joyous shouts of the multitude. He tries to jump, but tumbles back into the fire which roasts him entirely.

This story is a bridge between *kākatāliya* and 'Biter bit', which calls for a separate article in the Encyclopedia of Hindu fiction.

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Postscript: Dr. W. N. Brown draws my attention to another modern Hindu definition of *kākatāliya*, by Roy, in his Translation of *Mahābhārata*, *Çāntiparvan* 177 (p. 15, note). It is not very different from that of Mookerjea (see p. 14), yet descends somewhat from the height of fitness or patness, so characteristic of the fable's real meaning, to wit: '*Kākatāliyam* is, literally, "after the manner of the crow and the palmyra fruit". The story is that once, when a crow perched upon a palmyra tree, a fruit (which had been ripe) fell down. The fruit fell because of its ripeness. It would be a mistake to accept the sitting of the crow as the cause of the fall. The perching was only an accident. Yet men frequently, in tracing causes, accept accidents for inducing causes. Such men are said to be deceived by the fallacy of the crow and the palmyra fruit'.

II.—CURTIUS AND ARRIAN.

PART I.

The Narrative in Curtius.

The story of Alexander is one of the most interesting that has come down to us from antiquity. To what he did and said there was added what he might have done and said, until the later presentations were a strange mixture of fact and fancy. If we judge his history as that of the Romans is judged we must hold that there were incorporated into it incidents not of Grecian origin. As the Romans found in Greek stories materials for the embellishment of their own history, so the Greeks incorporated into the history of Alexander incidents derived from the Hebrews. The story of the Queen of the Amazons was suggested by the Queen of Sheba episode. Onesicritus may be responsible for the transplanting to Grecian soil, but the ground for this belief is itself merely another story; see Plutarch, Alex. 46. Along with this story of the Amazon we may place the wonderful whale, Jonah's probably, which appeared while Alexander was besieging Tyre. It was, says Diodorus in 17, 41, 5 ἀπιστον τὸ μέγεθος, and after sporting on the waters for a while, dived beneath the waves, πάλιν δ' εἰς τὸ πέλαγος νηέαμενον, and was seen no more. These two stories were connected by the Greeks with Alexander's history, but we do not know whether we should assign to a Greek or to Curtius himself the fact stated in 5, 2, 7 signum . . . observabatur ignis noctu, fumus interdiu. The true assignment is of little moment, though it has a Hebrew color as have the other two, and we may not be mistaken if we assume that in some way there had come to a Grecian transplanter the original of the words "by day in a pillar of cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire"; Exodus 13, 21.

Far more interesting than these stories are his deeds surpassing or paralleling those of his great predecessors. He emulated the actions of Perseus and Heracles (Arr. 3, 3, 1;

cf. 4, 28, 4), and safely passed through the desert to the temple of Ammon, though the army of Cambyses had been destroyed. Saving a part of his army from the desert of Gedrosia, he consoled himself with the fact that Semiramis had escaped with only twenty of her army, and Cyrus with only seven; Arrian 6, 24, 2. His attitude toward these two is well set forth in Curtius 7, 6, 20 *non alium gentium illarum magis admiratus est, quam hunc regem et Samiramin, quos et magnitudine animi et claritate rerum longe emicuisse credebat*. He showed his emulation of Liber Pater at Nysa (Curt. 8, 10), and in Carmania (Curt. 9, 10, 24). He passed beyond his limits in Scythia (Curt. 7, 9, 15; cf. 3, 10, 5), and to his mutinous soldiers in India he said, *Ne infregeritis in manibus meis palmam, qua Herculem Liberumque Patrem, si invidia afuerit, aequabo*; Curt. 9, 2, 29. These accounts came through the Greek, and we may hold that the motive given in Curt. 4, 6, 29 for the punishment of Betis was due to Curtius himself. His words are *per talos enim spirantis lora traiecta sunt religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi, gloriante rege, Achillen, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse poena in hostem capienda*. This seems nothing more than an illustration of the truth of the words in Arr. 7, 14, 4. *Καὶ κείρασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τῷ νεκρῷ τὴν κόμην τά τε ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπεικότα τίθεμαι καὶ κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν Ἀχιλλεῦς, πρὸς ὄντινα ἐκ παιδὸς φιλοτιμία αὐτῷ ἦν*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Compositione Verborum* 18, has a short sketch of the siege of Gaza and of the punishment of Betis. He then gives the entire account from Hegesias stating, among other things, "Alexander ordered that a ring of bronze should be passed through his (Betis') feet and that he should be dragged round in a circular course, naked". Dionysius sets over against this Homer's portrayal of the treatment of Hector's body by Achilles, adding that in this "there is not one unimpressive or unworthy verse". The picturing by Vergil (*Aen.* 2, 273 *perque pedes traiectus lora tumentes*), who reproduces Homer (*Il.* 22, 397 *βολεὺς δ' ἐξῆπεν ἱμάντας*, "hide-bands through the gashes he thrust"), would satisfy Dionysius, and it alone makes an application of the *φιλοτιμία* mentioned by Arrian.

The earliest writings about Alexander have perished, and we have little more in Greek than the collections of Diodorus,

Plutarch and Arrian, and in Latin the work of Curtius and the Epitome of Pompeius Trogus by Justinus. So far as the interdependence of these is concerned it is certain that Arrian made use of Plutarch, and his method was a protest against that of Diodorus. The best evidence showing that Curtius made use of Diodorus are some of the mistakes which appear in both. Arrian in 6, 4, 4 describes a scene at the juncture of the Acesines and the Hydaspes. But Diodorus in 17, 97, 1 places this at the juncture of the aforesaid rivers and the Indus—*τῆς συμβολῆς τῶν προειρημένων ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ*. Curtius begins 9, 4 with the statement from Arrian *perventum erat in regionem, in qua Hydaspes amnis Acesini committitur*. There follows in sec. 4 *hinc escensione facta CC et L stadia excessit*, and then in sec. 8 he adapts and explains the words of Diodorus, *Quippe III flumina tota India praeter Gangem maxima munimento arcis adplicant undas. A septentrione Indus adluit, a meridie Acesines Hydaspi confunditur*. Similar to this is Diod. 17, 104, 4 *τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἀρβίτας ὀνομαζομένους καὶ τοὺς τὴν Κεδρωσίαν αἰκοῦντας . . . προσηγάγετο*. Curtius has in 9, 10, 5 *Nonis castris in regionem Arabiton, inde totidem diebus in Cedrosiorum perventum est. Liber hic populus dedit se quam (regionem) emensus in Oritas transit*. Here, as in the other passage, there is an evident blending of Arrian and Diodorus, with the error of the latter retained. The reference to Clitarchus in 9, 8, 15 LXXX milia Indorum in ea regione caesa Clitarchus est auctor, seems to indicate some research on the part of Curtius; but the same number is given in Diod. 17, 102, 6, and the reference to Clitarchus is made merely because Livy, in several passages, refers to Valerius Antias as his authority for the great slaughter of the enemies of the Romans. It is our object to show that Curtius, making direct use of Diodorus, also made use of the material found in the works of Arrian and of Plutarch.

The outline of the career of Alexander is fairly clear as given by Curtius. For the earliest part *fortuna* is predominant (Curt. 3, 6, 18), but the victory at Arbela was due to *virtus* (Curt. 4, 16, 27). The second stage is disgraced by his love of wine (Curt. 5, 7, 1), by feasts (Curt. 6, 2, 1), by the adoption of the customs of the Persians (Curt. 6, 6, 1), by the execution of Philotas (Curt. 6, 7 seqq.), and by the murder of Clitus

(Curt. 8, 1 seqq.). The Indian campaign opens with the scene at Nysa and closes with Carmania, the last before the tragic end at Babylon. In developing the work, Alexander must be over all, and for this reason it was at times not necessary to choose between differing accounts, for either phase presented had the same bearing on Alexander. It matters not whether the wife of Darius died just after the battle of Issus (Arr. 4, 20, 1) or just before the battle of Arbela; whether Bucephalas was stolen in the land of the Uxii (Arr. 5, 19, 6) or in the land of the Mardi (Diod. 17, 76, 7); whether he died at the battle with Porus or some time later; or whether the water-pouring incident took place in the desert of Sogdiana (Plut. Alex. 42), in the desert of Gedrosia (Arr. 6, 26, 1), or in Africa (Frontinus 1, 7, 7). The bearing on the character of Alexander was the same whether Darius offered to Philip in marriage a daughter (Plut. Alex. 19) or a sister; whether Alexander married Stateira (Diod. 17, 107, 6) or Barsine (Arr. 7, 4, 4); whether Leonnatus (Arr. 4, 12, 2) or Polyperchon ridiculed the Persians; or whether it was Nearchus or Meleager (Just. 13, 2, 6) who took part in the discussion of the leaders following the death of Alexander. In these and other instances of the same kind, an exact solution would not in any way affect the coloring of the picture, and it was coloring rather than accuracy for which Curtius was striving. Compare the slightly varying pictures in Curt. 4, 13, 16 and 7, 8, with Plut. Alex. 32.

From whatever source may have come the information given by Curtius, much of it is permeated with Roman color. His characters, otherwise known or unknown, act and talk with the air of characters portrayed by other Romans. In 4, 14, 18 he has Darius apply to Alexander an adaptation of the characterization by Livy in 9, 18, 8. In 4, 13, 8 he makes Alexander say, *furum . . . quippe illorum votum unicum est fallere*, reshaping a part of Hannibal's opinion of the Romans as given by Horace in Odes 4, 4, 51 *quos opimus | fallere et effugere est triumphus*. The characterization of Hannibal by his enemies in Livy 35, 42, 8-14 *exulem illum etc.* suggests the exile Patron as characterized by Bessus in Curt. 5, 12, 2. We find in Curt. 6, 11, 1 *erat inter duces manu strenuus Bolon quidam*, after whose speech, the king (sec. 9) *quamquam in*

vesperam inclinabat dies, tamen amicos convocari iubet. The suggestion for this episode comes from Tacitus, *Annals* 1, 16, 9 erat in castris Percennius quidam . . . flexo in vesperam die et dilapsis melioribus deterrimum quemque congregare.

This method may not give the correct coloring to the narrative, but it may perhaps be justified as being within the proper limits of interpretation and of presentation in accordance with recognized types. But Curtius goes beyond this and applies his method to other features as well. In 4, 9, 5 is given a description of the chariots of Darius, based on Diod. 17, 53, 2. The Greek has *προσηλωμένα τῷ ζυγῷ ξύστρα παραμήκη τρισπίθαρα*; Curtius, utrimque a iugo ternos direxerat gladios, the entire description following Livy 37, 41, 7, rather than translating Diodorus. At times the narrative is so thoroughly Romanized that a comparison of the form of statement in Curtius with that of any Greek author is valueless, unless allowances be made for the Roman element. And in neglecting this some investigators have erred, as does Kaerst, *Beiträge zur Quellenkritik des Q. Curtius Rufus*, p. 13. This is also true of other parts of Curtius. Kaerst, p. 21, compares Arr. 6, 18, 4 Οὐκ ἔχοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ πλοῦ, ὅτι πεφεύγεσαν οἱ ταύτῃ Ἴνδοί, ἀπορώτερα τὰ τοῦ κατάπλου ἦν . . . καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν τοὺς κουφοτάτους ἐκπέμψας ἐς τὴν προσωτέρω τῆς ὁχθῆς χώραν ξυλλαμβάνει τινὰς τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ οὗτοι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐξηγοῦντο αὐτῷ τὸν πόρον, with Curt. 9, 8, 30 ducibus deinde sumptis; and 9, 9, 1 quia duces socordius adservati profugerant. The words do not indicate that Curtius misunderstood the Greek, but that he was mindful of Livy 27, 47, 9 duces parum intente adservati, alter . . . subsedit, alter . . . tranavit. The difference between Arr. 5, 20, 6 and Curt. 9, 1, 8 has a similar explanation. The Greek reads Ἦκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ παρὰ Πύρρου ἄλλου του ὑπάρχου Ἰνδῶν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Ἀβισάρην διὰ τάχους λέναι παρ' αὐτὸν κελεύει ἐπαπειλήσας, εἰ μὴ ἔλθοι, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὀφεται ἡκοντα ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἵνα οὐ χαίρῃσι ἰδῶν. Curtius has nuntiari iussit, si gravaretur ad se venire, ipsum ad eum esse venturum, adapting a statement in Livy 21, 24, 4 nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum, but omitting the important conclusion given by Arrian. Both passages are cited by Fränkel, *Quellen der Alexanderhistoriker*, p. 236, and the conclusion is drawn from them "daraus sieht man, dass

auch hier Klitarch und Aristobul aus derselben Quelle (Onesicritus) geschöpft haben." Bearing in mind the passages from Livy, there is no need of going back of Arrian to find the source for the words of Curtius; compare Curt. 8, 1, 9 which translates Arr. 4, 15, 3 but omits *εἰ κελεύοιτο*. There is a similar relation between Arr. 2, 7, 1 *Τὴν δὲ Ἴσσον κατασχόν, ὅσους διὰ νόσον ὑπολειμμένους αὐτοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατέλαβε, τούτους χαλεπῶς αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν*, and Curt. 3, 8, 15 *quos omnis instinctu purpuratorum barbara feritate saevientium praecisis adustisque manibus circumduci . . . iussit*, the suggestion for which came from Livy 30, 29, 2. The story of the death of Spitamenes in Arr. 4, 17, 7 is varied in Curt. 8, 3 in accordance with Livy's model; see A. J. P. XXXVI 407. The short account in Arr. 3, 7, 5 *Ἀλλὰ διαβαίνει τὸν πόρον, χαλεπῶς μὲν δι' ὀξύτητα τοῦ ῥοῦ, οὐδανὸς δὲ ἔργοντος*, appears in Curt. 4, 9, 17-21 in eighteen lines, a mosaic from Livy, including *sed neque consilium neque imperium accipi poterat*, Livy having in 22, 5, 3 *ceterum . . . nec . . . nec*.

We have already shown (A. J. P. XXXVI 402 seqq.) that Curtius often borrows illustrative material from other Latin writers, and that he often gives his interpretation of events in parenthetic statements similar to those used by Livy. But of more importance are the passages in which he gives the causes of events and actions. Such statements are not common in Justinus, but are very noticeable in Curtius, especially those introduced by *quippe*. A few of the many possible illustrations must suffice: 4, 4, 10 in *altissimam turrem ascendit ingenti animo, periculo maiore: quippe regio insigni et armis fulgentibus conspicuus unus praecipue telis petebatur*. Compare Alexander in a similar situation as described in Arr. 6, 9, 5: *Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους στὰς κύκλῳ τε ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον πύργων ἐβάλλετο . . . δῆλος μὲν ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος ὢν τῶν τε ὅπλων τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῷ ἀτόκῳ τῆς τόλμῃ*; 4, 16, 8 *Dareus . . . dubitavit, an solveret pontem, quippe hostem iam adfore nuntiabatur*; 4, 16, 17 *ne amnis quidem capiebat agmina . . . quippe ubi intravit animos pavor, id solum metuunt, quod primum formidare coeperunt*; 4, 16, 20 *pauci eum sequebantur ovantes victoria, quippe omnes hostes aut in fugam effusos aut in acie cecidisse credebant*; 4, 16, 24 *nec Persae inulti cadebant, quippe non universae acies . . . vehementius iniere certamen*;

4, 16, 31 ne duces quidem copiarum sua laude fraudandi sunt: quippe vulnera, quae quisque exceperit, indicia virtutis sunt. Here Curtius adapts from Livy 27, 10, 7 ne nunc quidem post tot saecula sileantur fraudenturve laude sua, and then gives his reason. Other particles are also used to introduce his interpretations, as in 4, 16, 27 ceterum hanc victoriam rex maiore ex parte virtuti, quam fortunae suae debuit. Nam et aciem peritissime instruxit et promptissime ipse pugnavit. This reminds us of what is said about Hannibal in Livy 30, 35, 5 singulari arte aciem eo die instruxisse. Similar to these are 3, 6, 17 namque haud facile dictu est, praeter ingentiam illi genti erga reges suos venerationem, quantum huius utique regis vel admirationi dediti fuerint vel caritate flagraverint; and 3, 3, 28 ergo Alexandro in acie miles non defuit. These are but a few of the many indications of Roman thinking woven into the account of Alexander. Though they are many, we believe, acting as interpreter of Curtius, that had we his own justification for writing his work, it would be based largely on the orations which he has introduced into it.

The rhetorical and Romanizing tendencies of Curtius are clearly seen in the speeches with which his work abounds. Compared with the narrative they are much more prominent than in Livy. In the army of Alexander there were no shorthand reporters, and no gazetteers to give harangues to the world. For this reason the writers of a later date were, in this respect, untrammelled by facts, and an imaginative Roman might be as successful as a Greek in inventing possible orations. A touch in 6, 11, 12 sermone habito, cuius summa non edita est, can by inference be taken as a suggestion that other orations given were correctly reported. With this can be compared his words in 7, 8, 11 sed ut possit oratio eorum sperni, tamen fides nostra non debet: quare, utcumque sunt tradita, incorrupta perferemus. However, had Curtius wished his readers to believe that the oration was actually delivered, he should have omitted the words in sec. 23 Scytharum solitudines Graecis etiam proverbiiis audio eludi, and those in sec. 21 non succurrit tibi, quamdiu circum Bactra haereas? a manifest adaptation of Livy 22, 39, 16 quamdiu pro Gereoni . . . moenibus sedet!

Curtius could not de-Livianize himself, and for him Livy is an ever-abounding source. Diodorus in 17, 33, 1, and, more

in detail, Arrian in 2, 10, 2, mentions the exhortation of Alexander to his troops at the battle of Issus. Curtius gives it, a page in length, in 3, 10, 4 seqq., drawing on Livy for material. Some legates tell Hannibal, according to Livy 23, 42, 5 *gloriantur Romani te ad unum modo ictum vigentem velut aculeo misso torpere*. This is one of the Livian touches in the speech of Darius, three pages in length, delivered at Arbela to his forces according to Curt. 4, 14, 13 *velut quaedam animalia emissio aculeo, torpet*. Later on Curtius in 6, 3, 11 assigns to Alexander the words *parva saepe scintilla contempta magnum excitavit incendium*, a slight modification of a statement in the speech of Hanno, Livy 21, 3, 6 *ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet*; cf. Florus 1, 33, 2, *ut scintillae diffudisse quaedam belli incendia*. We find in the same speech (sec. 9) *et adhuc sic ago, tamquam*, as in Livy 10, 8, 1 *quid autem ego sic egi, tamquam*.

The speech of Hermolaus in Curt. 8, 7 is Greek in origin, for it fills out the outline given in Arr. 4, 14, 2, and has in sec. 14 *miraris, si liberi homines superbiam tuam ferre non possumus?* = *καὶ γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι ἔτι ἐλευθέρῳ ἀνδρὶ φέρειν τὴν ὕβριν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου*; and *Persarum te vestis et disciplina delectat* (sec. 12) is an adaptation of *καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν Μηδικήν, καὶ τὴν προσκύνησιν τὴν βουλευθεῖσαν καὶ οὕτω πεπανμένην, καὶ πότους τε καὶ ὕπνους τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου*. Though the speech is that of a Greek it begins with the words *utor beneficio tuo et dico, quae nostris malis didici*, an adaptation of the words assigned to Hannibal in Livy 36, 7, 20 *bonis malisque meis didici*. The listeners interrupt (sec. 7) *obstrepunt subinde cuncti Hermolao*, just as Appius is interrupted, Livy 3, 49, 5 *decemviro obstrepitur*. It may also be noticed that the words in sec. 11 *novo more victores sub iugum mitteres*, reflects Roman and not Grecian custom. As an illustration of the utilization in other connections of short remarks we give the words of a seer in Curt. 9, 4, 29 *'ita prorsus futurum'* *respondisset*, recalling those of another seer in Livy 1, 36, 4 *profecto futurum dixisset*. As three-fourths of the work of Livy has been lost, it can never be determined exactly how much Curtius derived from him. But we can trace so much to Livy and to other Latin writers, that we may well call his work the contributions of a Roman to the history of Alexander. As we can not

separate all that is Roman, there must ever be a feeling of uncertainty in regard to the source of any particular passage. Because of his method, except in cases of evident translation, a study of his sources must be based largely on the facts he has stated. But what are the facts of Curtius?

The narrative of Curtius gives a mixture of geography and of history, using the latter in a very broad sense. The former, changing very little through the ages, might be given with greater accuracy near the time of Curtius than by men who were with Alexander. Some of the geographical facts given by Curtius might have been observed by himself, as the description of the Marsyas in 3, 1, 2-5; of the Sangarius in 3, 1, 12; of the Pylae in 3, 4, 2; and of Cilicia in 3, 4, 6-10. These and some other features might have been observed by him, but this is of little import. The real historical value of his work is in its presentation of facts. And what we call his facts are really a combination of fact and of fancy. It is a fact that the wife of Darius died in captivity; what purports to be his remarks when he heard of her death is fiction. It is also a fact that Darius was captured by Bessus and put to death by his orders; the speeches associated with the two are pieces of fiction. The statement of presumed facts are also of two kinds. Some give us the doings of Alexander and his associates; others set forth the acts of Persians, Bactrians, etc. The former may have originated with the actors or with eye-witnesses of the acts. They were at least committed to writing by Greeks, and were passed down in Grecian literary channels. How the Greeks found out the doings of the Persians when they were far away can not be told; and we may well view with some degree of suspicion the accounts of what took place in the camps of Darius and of Bessus. The illustrative material which Curtius has gathered from Roman sources may be ideally true, but *ab uno omnia disce* is not a safe historical guide. Probably several competent writers described the battle of Issus, but no accumulation of Grecian accounts could produce the Roman coloring found in the narrative of Curtius.

The description of the battle-cry in 3, 10, 2 *iugis montium vastisque saltibus reperiussus* is a variation from Livy 21, 33, 6, and to this Curtius adds the comment: *quippe semper cir-*

cumiecta nemora petraeque, quantamcumque accepere vocem, multiplicato sono referunt. Livy in 30, 33, 8 says of the speech delivered by Hannibal at Zama, varia adhortatio erat; and Curtius reproduces this in sec. 4 varia oratione . . . milites adloquebatur. The idea presented in sec. 5 illos terrarum orbis liberatores, is from Hannibal's speech as given in Livy 21, 30, 3 ad liberandum orbem terrarum, just as *emensos* is changed from *emensam* in Livy 21, 30, 5. The simple statement in Livy 21, 43, 8 in vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus, is changed by Curtius in sec. 6 to in praeruptis petris Illyriorum et Thraciae saxis. In the remainder of the chapter the incentives offered differ from those set forth by Hannibal, but there is equal variety in both.

The ideas and words of Livy are freely used in the description of the battle proper, Curt. 3, 11, 1-15. The construction with the opening words, iam . . . pervenerat, cum . . . invecti sunt, is Livian, but the following comment is that of Curtius: quippe Dareus equestri proelio decernere optabat, phalangem Macedonici exercitus robur esse coniectans. In sections 2 and 3 there are brought together and modified two phrases from Livy, 10, 19, 17 in medio pugnae discrimine; and 22, 48, 5 subductos ex media acie Numidas; while in sec. 4 the words *regem tuebantur* recall the scene portrayed in Livy 22, 6, 3 *hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur cives*.

Inaccurate statements and misinterpretations are both found; see Dosson, *Quinte Curce*, pp. 187 seqq. Some of these arise from an improper adjustment of the parts. We are told in 3, 5, 10 that Alexander was worried, quippe Dareum quinto die in Cilicia fore nuntiabatur. Yet we learn from a Darius section of the work beginning with 3, 7, 1 At Dareus nuntio de adversa valetudine eius accepto . . . ad Euphraten contendit iunctoque eo pontibus quinque tamen diebus traiecit exercitum Ciliciam occupare festinans. The five days mentioned in the first passage are taken up in crossing the Euphrates, to say nothing of the time required to carry the news to Babylon. To the same cause we may assign an incident mentioned in connection with the siege of Tyre. According to Arr. 2, 24, 5 some Carthaginian ambassadors were among the captives, and Curtius gives the same information in 4, 4, 18. But Diodorus in 17, 41, 1 tells us that during the siege the Tyrians voted to

send their wives, children and the aged to Carthage, yet owing to circumstances τέλος δὲ τῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν μέρος μὲν ἐφθασαν ὑπεκθέμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, καταταχοῦμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πολυχειρίας καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν οὐκ ὄντες ἀξιόμαχοι συνηραγκάσθησαν ὑπομείναι πανδημὴν τὴν πολιορκίαν. Curtius in 4, 2, 10 and 4, 3, 19 tells us of two embassies, the latter reporting that the Syracusans were ravaging Africa and had pitched camp not far from the walls of Carthage. Immediately the Tyrians gave over their wives and children to be carried to Carthage. This introduces the Syracusan war at the wrong time, apparently removes the legates from Tyre, sends the women into a danger equal to that from which they were fleeing, and renders impossible the conditions described in Curt. 4, 4, 14 pueri virginesque templa compleverant. Curtius says in 4, 9, 10 of the battlefield at Arbela equitabilis et vasta planities: ne stirpes quidem et brevia virgulta operiunt solum liberque prospectus oculorum etiam ad ea, quae procul recessere, permittitur. This repeats Arr. 3, 8, 7 with *equitabilis* for ἰσπλάσιμα. Yet we find in 4, 12, 23 nemora vallesque circumiectas terribili sono impleverat. In 4, 12, 14 there is described a sudden panic which fell upon the Macedonians, and in 4, 13, 13 Darius proclaims this fact to the Persians. We read in 4, 9, 2 idoneis auctoribus fama vulgavit, Alexandrum cum omnibus copiis, quamcumque ipse adisset regionem, petiturum, although according to 4, 5, 8 this was a part of the answer of Alexander to Darius. He explains the origin of the Argyraspides in 8, 5, 4 (see Just. 12, 7, 5), but mentions them in 4, 13, 27, following Diod. 17, 57, 2.

Occasionally there is an evident lack of care in weighing the import of what is written. Curtius states in 5, 11, 7 Bessus quamquam erat Graeci sermonis ignarus, tamen stimulante conscientia indicium profecto Patronem detulisse credebat: et interpreti relato sermone Graeci exempta dubitatio est. As Patron had approached Darius without an interpreter (sec. 4) Bessus performed the impossible feat of remembering and reporting to the interpreter the words of a language which he did not understand. Equally inappropriate is the assignment to Ptolemy in 10, 6, 14 of the words, est, cur Persas vicerimus, ut stirpi eorum serviamus. It must have been known to Curtius that Ptolemy himself had married a barbarian, for it is

expressly stated in Arr. 7, 4, 6, though Diodorus in 17, 107, 6 mentions only Hephaestion of the prominent leaders. Here also may be placed Curt. 5, 4, 11 sortis . . . ducem in Persidem ferentis viae Lycium civem fore. This is a translation of Diod. 17, 68, 5 Λύκιον μὲν εἶναι τὸ γένος, but it takes the point from the declaration of the oracle as given by Plut. Alex. 37 Ὅν φασιν, ἐπὶ παιδὸς ὄντος Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὴν Πυθίαν προειπεῖν, ὡς λύκος ἔσται καθηγγεμῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς ἐπὶ Πέρσας πορείας.

Other remarks are of a similar character. In 3, 5, 5 he borrows from Livy 30, 30, 1, and by the words, in tanto impetu cursuque rerum omnis aetatis ac memoriae clarissimum regem . . . deiectum, makes the soldiers anticipate the coming greatness of Alexander. Also the words in 3, 6, 10 sacro et venerabili ore, are in the spirit of later times, just as in 6, 2, 15 Hecatompilos, condita a Graecis. Because of the lack of marking material Alexander used grain to mark the line for the walls of Alexandria, and yet it is said of this in Curt. 4, 8, 6 ut Macedonum mos est. Just as if he were at Issus, Darius says in 4, 14, 11 coniuges quoque et liberi sequuntur hanc aciem, and finishes with a quotation from Livy. The remark in 6, 3, 16 quadridui nobis iter superest, is too far from the truth to justify its use even in an encouraging harangue. He tells of the marvelous bird and tower at Gaza, inlita erat turris bitumine ac sulphure, in qua alis haerentibus frustra se adlevare conatus a circumstantibus capitur, although Plut. Alex. 25 found in his sources only νευρίνοις κεκρυφάλοις.

The words of Plutarch in his introduction to the Alexander οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους, might be modified to show the design of Curtius "historiam scribimus et vitam". For him the picturesque was as important as the practical, and in the attainment of this 1. *Names* and 2. *Numbers*, were of more importance than matters of 3. *Time* and 4. *Place*.

1. The use of names is the most interesting feature in the study of Curtius. Dosson, pp. 156-7, gives nearly a score of names found only in Curtius. As we know of these only from him, recognizing his interpretative tendencies, we may well believe that some of these are either special creations or specially colored for the picture. Of such are in 7, 3, 4 Amedines, scriba Darei; in 8, 14, 2 Hages, frater Pori; in 5, 13, 7 Melon, Darei interpres; in 8, 11, 5 Mylleas, scriba regis

(Alexandri). The following is pure conjecture; but something can be offered for the belief that the Charus of Curt. 8, 11 is an invention based on the story by Eratosthenes as told in Plut. Alex. 31, see also 58. Yet for the form the prototype is Verg. Aen. 9, 176 seqq. But does the belief that "Nisus et una | Euryalus" suggested Charus et Alexander (sec. 10) hang by too slender a thread? Notice the order of the names here, and the phraseology in v. 222 *statione relicta . . . regemque requirunt*: and in sec. 11 *relictis stationibus . . . regem sequebantur*; v. 386 *evaserat*: sec. 14 *evaserant*; v. 444 *tum super exanimum sese proiecit* (Nisus) *amicum | confossus*: sec. 16 Alexander . . . *confossus undique obruitur*. *Quem ut Charus iacentem conspexit . . . super amici corpus procubuit exanimis*. It is also to be noticed that an adaptation of v. 400 *sese medios . . . in hostis | inferat* occurs in Curt. 7, 7, 37.

Dosson also gives a still longer list of words the spelling of which differs from that found elsewhere. Some of these spellings may be due to original differences, for we find in Arr. 5, 20, 2 *Γλαῦσαι* from Ptolemy, and *Γλανγάνικαι* from Aristobulus; as also in Plut. Alex. 66 *Σκιλλοῦστιν* and *Ψιλτοῦκιν*; Arr. 6, 19, 3 *Κίλλοντα*. Some of the Latin spellings may go back to Pompeius Trogus, for Justinus has in 12, 8, 9 *Prasios, Gangaridas*, as Curtius in 9, 2, 3 *Gangaridas et Prasios eorumque regem esse Aggrammen*; cf. Diod. 17, 93, 2 *τῶν Ταβραισίων καὶ Γανδαριδῶν ἔθνος, τούτων δὲ βασιλεύειν Ξανδράμην*. Arrian has *Ἀντοφραδάτης* in 3, 23, 7 and 4, 18, 2, for which in corresponding passages, 6, 4, 24 and 8, 3, 17, as well as in 4, 12, 9, Curtius has *Phradates*, as if the first part of the Greek name were *αὐτός*. The Latin spellings show many sheer variations from the Greek, and of the genesis of the spelling of such words there is no explanation except improper copying. Some will be given as illustrations; Curt. 3, 4, 1 *Abistamenes*: Arr. 2, 4, 2 *Σαβίκτας*; Curt. 8, 10, 19 *Acadira*: Arr. 4, 24, 6 *Ἀριγαῖον*; Curt. 8, 1, 3 *Attinas*: Arr. 4, 16, 6 *Ἀριστόνικος*; Curt. 8, 10, 22 *Beira*: Arr. 4, 27, 5 *Βάξιρα*; Curt. 7, 4, 8 *Cobares*: Diod. 17, 83, 7 *Βαγωδάρας*; Curt. 6, 7, 2 *Dymnus*: Diod. 17, 79, 1 *Δίμνος*: Plut. Alex. 49 *Δίμνος*; Curt. 8, 12, 1 *Erix*: Diod. 17, 86, 2 *Ἀφρίκης*; Curt. 8, 4, 1 *Gazaba*: Arr. 4, 17, 4 *Γαβάς*; Curt. 9, 1, 35 *Hypasis*, and 9, 1,

13 Hyarotis: Arrian has regularly Ὑφασίς and Ὑδραώτης; Curt. 8, 11, 1 Nora: Arr. 4, 27, 5 Ὀρα; Curt. 8, 12, 5, Omphis: Arr. 5, 1, 3; 5, 2, 3 Ακουφίς: Diod. 17, 86, 4 Μῶφίς; Curt. 9, 8, 12 Porticanus: Arr. 6, 16, 1 Ὀξικανός; Curt. 10, 1, 22 Orsines: Arr. 6, 29, 2 Ὀρέϊνης; Curt. 9, 4, 15 Sadrucae: Arr. 6, 4, 3 Ὀξυδράκαι; Curt. 6, 4, 4 Ziobetis: Diod. 17, 75, 2 Στιβολίτης; Curt. 8, 1, 8 Phrataphernes: Arr. 4, 15, 4 Φαρασμάνης; Arr. 5, 22, 3 τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο τῶν Ἰνδῶν Ἀδραϊσταὶ ἐκαλοῦντο: Indiae is misplaced and misinterpreted in Curt. 9, 8, 11 Inde Praestos, et ipsam Indiae gentem, perventum est, the translation giving a superfluous fact.

These examples indicate that disregard for accuracy or inability to attain it must be considered as a factor in studying the construction of the work of Curtius. Dosson, p. 187, calls attention to mistakes of Curtius, "qu'il confond φόβος avec φοῖβος et le traduit par *Sol*; . . . qu'il a dit '*Ozinem et Zariaspen nobiles Persas*' prenant le nom d'un peuple pour le nom d'un rebelle". But we must acquit Curtius of one of these charges, for he said of Darius in 4, 13, 12 Solem et Mithrem sacrumque et aeternum invocans ignem, while in Plut. Alex. 31 the sentence beginning Δαρείος μὲν changes to Ἀλέξανδρος δέ . . . καὶ τῷ φόβῳ σφαγιαζόμενος. The second reference is to Curt. 9, 10, 19, whose words enclosing the quotation are A Cratero quoque nuntius venit . . . defectionem molientes oppressos a se in vinculis esse. The corresponding words of Arrian are in 6, 27, 3 Ἦδη δ' ἐς Καρμανίαν ἤκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Κράτερος ἀφικνέται, τὴν τε ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἅμα οἱ ἄγων καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ Ὀρδάνην τὸν ἀποστάντα καὶ νεωτερίσαντα συνειληφώς. A mere glance at this shows considerable difference from the Latin, but the Greek has καὶ Ὀρδάνην . . . καὶ νεωτερίσαντα, and Curtius transformed them into Ozinen et Zariaspen, adding the explanation *nobiles Persas*. If this were the only instance of such a possible change it would not be worth mentioning; but there are others in which the alteration is clearly evident. We find in Curt. 6, 4, 23 quibus benigne exceptis ad oppidum Arvas pervenit. Hic ei Craterus et Erigyus occurrunt. The words in Arr. 3, 23, 6 are Ἄρας δὲ ἐντεῦθεν προῆγε ἐφ' Ὑρκανίας ὡς εἰς Ζαδράκαρτα πόλιν Ὑρκανίων, and continuing in the next sentence Craterus and Erigyus are mentioned. Here the participle ἄρας, in Curtius *Arvas*, has been taken as the limit

of motion with *προΐει*, and the remainder of the sentence omitted. Similar to this is Curt. 3, 7, 5 *ad urbem Mallum pervenit, inde alteris castris ad oppidum Catabolium*, which translates a part and transforms a part of Arrian's statement in 2, 5, 9 *Ἐνθεν δὲ ἐς Μαλλὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ Ἀμφιλόχῃ ὅσα ἦραι ἐγγίσει· καὶ στασιάζοντες καταλαβὼν τὴν στάσιν αὐτοῖς κατέπαυσε*. Curtius has taken the first participle for *σταδίους* with some numeral, and the second for the name of a town, and for the same reason as in the passage given above. Arrian has in 2, 13, 1 *Ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἔχων τοὺς πάντας, ὡς ἐπὶ Θάψακόν τε πόλιν καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν σπουδῇ ἤλαυνεν, ὡς τάχιστα μέσον αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Εὐφράτην ποιῆσαι*, while Curtius has in 4, 1, 3 *Onchas deinde pervenit, ubi excepere eum Graecorum quattuor milia*. Onchas is "*non aliunde notum*", and with good reason, for it is merely a mutilated *Θάψακος*. There is a strange statement in Curt. 9, 10, 7 *urbem condidit, deductique sunt in eam Arachosii*, but it is due to Diod. 17, 104, 7 *πλησιόχωροι . . . προσεχώρησαν τῇ βασιλείᾳ*. Slightly different is Curt. 6, 7, 22 *nobili iuveni—Metron erat ei nomen—whose solution is in Plut. Alex. 49 πρὸς ἑτερον*. Curtius says in 8, 2, 34 *cum equite processit*; in sec. 19 *cum toto exercitu venit*, and in sec. 14 *ipse Xenippa venit*. We conjecture that Xenippa, on the borders of Scythia, is for *ξὺν ἱππεῦσι*; see Arr. 3, 20, 4; 3, 21, 10; 3, 28, 2.

The practical suggestion from the preceding is that it is possible to correct some of the statements of Curtius by means of the words of Arrian. Curtius has in 10, 1, 39 *Phradates regnum adfectasse suspectus occiditur*. Phrataphernes was sent to relieve Phradates of his command (Arr. 4, 18, 2) and send him in custody to Alexander (Curt. 8, 3, 17). He returned later (Arr. 5, 20, 7), and it is improbable that the punishment of Phradates, if he were guilty, would be so long delayed. Notice the promptness of action in the case of Arsaces; Arr. 3, 29, 5; 4, 7, 1. The statement of Curtius immediately follows the account of the punishment of Orsines who is mentioned in Arr. 6, 29, 2, a section which names Phrasaortes and Orsines, while sec. 3 states the death of Baryaxes *Μῆδον συνειλημμένον, ὅτι ὀρθὴν τὴν κίδαριν περιθέμενος βασιλέα προσεΐπεν αὐτὸν Περσῶν καὶ Μῆδων*. It is evident that Curtius has confused Phrasaortes with Phradates, and assigned to him the

punishment inflicted on Baryaxes. Arrian states in 4, 1, 1 that one of the retainers, whose name was Berdes according to Curtius 7, 6, 12, was sent to the Scythians. His return is mentioned in Arrian 4, 15, 1-4 and Curtius 8, 1, 7-10. Both writers tell of the proposal that Alexander take a Scythian as wife. Arrian says that Pharasmenes, king of the Chorasmii, came at the same time, while Curtius has Phrataphernes, qui Chorasmiiis praeerat. The latter statement seems to be the result of a two-fold confusion: Pharismanes, son of Phrataphernes (Arr. 6, 27, 3), was first taken for Pharasmenes, and then the name of the father was substituted for that of the son.

In Curt. 9, 10 also there are difficulties in regard to names. Sec. 20 has Menon instead of Thoas (Arr. 6, 27, 1), and Aspastes is mentioned in 21, and in 29 satrapes Aspastes, de quo ante dictum est, interfici iussus est. The information given is far different in Arr. 7, 4, 1 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀτροπάτην μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σατραπείαν ἐκπέμπει παρελθὼν ἐς Σούσα, Ἀβουλίτην δὲ καὶ τὸν τούτου παῖδα Ὁξάβρην, ὅτι κακῶς ἐπεμελείτο τῶν Σουσίων, συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε. The explanation of the difference is very easy. Curtius took only the first accusative given by Arrian and the last verb, and overlooked all that intervened.

In Arr. 4, 13, 4 is given the name of each of the conspirators with Hermolaus and also the name of his father, Ἀντίπατράν τε τὸν Ἀσκληπιοδώρου τοῦ Συρίας σατραπεύσαντος καὶ Ἐπιμένην τὸν Ἀρσαίου καὶ Ἀντικλέα τὸν Θεοκρίτου καὶ Φιλώταν τὸν Κάρσιδος τοῦ Θρακός. This list of four is increased to seven in Curt. 8, 6, 9 Nicostratum, Antipatrum Asclepiodorumque et Philotan placuit adsumi: per hos adiecti sunt Anticles, Elaptonius et Epimenes. The position of Philotas in the list is different from that in Arrian, and Asclepiodorus is changed from the genitive to the accusative making one addition to the names. The order of the last names is the reverse of that in Arrian, and the strange name Elaptonius appears for Ἀρσαίου. The first name Nicostratus is a corruption of the participle σατραπεύσαντος, and is changed from its position in Arrian. After passing through the land of the Sudrae and Malli, Alexander, according to Curt. 9, 8, 3 in fines Mallorum devehitur. Arrian has Σόγδοι in the parallel passage 6, 15, 4.

But the most noticeable of all the incorrect passages, 8, 9, 4-11, contains a description of the great rivers of India—the

Ganges, Indus, Acesines, Dyardines and Etymandrus. For the usual Greek μέγιστος (Diod. 17, 85, 3; Arr. 5, 6, 7), Curtius applies *eximius* to the Ganges. The description of the Etymandrus, ab accolis rigantibus carpitur: ea causa est, cur tenues reliquias iam sine nomine in mare emittat, corresponds to what Arrian says of it in 4, 6, 6. All these rivers, says Curtius in 8, 9, 3, rise in the Caucasus, and for this reason the Etymandrus ought to be a river of India. Even if it does not flow through India, Curtius is no more to be criticised for including it in the list, than is Longfellow for writing in Evangeline

Westward the Oregon flows and the Walleway and Owyhee
Eastward, with devious course, among the Wind-river Mountains,
Through the Sweet-water Valley precipitate leaps the Nebraska,

and then adding

Into this wonderful land, at the base of the Ozark Mountains, which are in Arkansas and Missouri. But the real difficulty in the passage is with Dyardines—minus *celeber auditu est, quia per ultima Indiae currit: ceterum non crocodilos modo, uti Nilus, sed etiam delphinos ignotasque aliis gentibus beluas alit*. The statements in Strabo 15, 696, and in Arr. 6, 1, 2 Πρότερον μὲν γε ἐν τῷ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμῷ κροκοδείλους ἰδὼν, μόνῃ τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν πλὴν Νείλου, πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου κυάμους πεφυκότας ὁποῖους ἡ γῆ ἐκφέρει ἡ Αἰγυπτία, establish the fact that the words of Curtius apply to rivers along the route of Alexander. The description, Indus . . . Acesines cum auget: decursurum in mare *Indus* intercipit magnoque motu amnis uterque colliditur, is puzzling, although a part translates Arr. 6, 4, 4 τὸ ὕδωρ κυμαίνεται τε καὶ καχλάζει, referring to the Hydaspes and Acesines, and it is from the first part of the one and the last of the other that Curtius seems to have formed Dyardines. The patent defect is the omission of Hydaspes. Supplying this the reading should be, Indus . . . Acesines cum auget: decursum immanem Hydaspes intercipit . . . colliditur, quippe . . . cedunt; ceterum . . . alit. The sentence *Dyardines* to *currit* is merely a comment by Curtius needed to explain the unknown river Dyardines. The entire passage, sections 8 and 9, is a reproduction of Arr. 6, 1, 2 and 5; 6, 4, 4, and the modification in Strabo ἐν μὲν τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ κροκοδείλους ἰδόντα, ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ κυάμους Αἰγυπτίους. The difficulties arose from

the blending by Curtius of a part of Hydaspes and of Acesines into a new name Dyardines, with a mistranslation of *κνέμους*, which ought to bear the same relation to the Acesines as *κροκοδείλους* does to the Hydaspes. Hence *non crocodilos modo, sed etiam delphinos*, with the addition *ignotasque aliis gentibus beluas*.

But the use of names by Curtius is a matter of rhetorical art, not merely of technical structure. Back of this is the fact that he does not mention Seleucus to whom Justinus devotes 15, 4, and whom Arrian in 7, 22, 5 pronounces the greatest of the successors of Alexander. Arrian has in 5, 16, 3 *τὴν φάλαγγα Σελεύκου καὶ Ἀντιγένης καὶ Ταύρων προσέταξεν ἄγειν*, which appears in Curt. 8, 14, 15 *Tu, Antigene, et tu, Leonnate, et Tauron, invehemini in mediam aciem*, changing the order of the names; and similar changes are characteristic of the work. Examples are in Curt. 3, 9, 7 *Meleager et Ptolemaeus*: Arr. 2, 8, 4 reversed; Curt. 3, 9, 9 *Thracas quoque et Cretenses*: Arr. 2, 9, 3; Curt. 3, 11, 10 *Atizyes et Rheomithres et Sabaces*: Arr. 2, 11, 8 *καὶ Ῥεομίθρης καὶ Ἀτιζύης . . . καὶ Σανάκης*. Diod. 17, 34, 5 has the same arrangement as Curtius, but *Τασιάκης* for Sabaces which evidently came from Arrian; 4, 12, 7 *Ariobarzanes et Orontobates*: Arr. 3, 8, 5; Curt. 7, 4, 23 *Caranus et Erigyus*: Arr. 3, 28, 2; Curt. 8, 5, 2 *Haustanen et Catenen*: Arr. 4, 22, 1. Fränkel, p. 287, quotes Curt. 5, 1, 43-45 and Diod. 17, 64, 5-6, and remarks "Hier harmonisieren Curtius und Diodor fast vollständig mit einander". And the best proof of the harmony is the fact that Diodorus has the second and third of four names *Ἀπολλόδωρον καὶ Μένετα*, while Curtius has *Menetem et Apollodorum*. The same method is also followed in dealing with longer passages, as in 4, 10, 8 *dextra Tigrim habebat, a laeva montes quos Gordyaeos vocant*: Arr. 3, 7, 7 *Ἄρας δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἦν διὰ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας χώρας, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἔχων τὰ Γορδυηνῶν ὄρη, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Τίγρητα*.

The fact that Curtius has nearly a dozen ways of connecting three names indicates that he was ever on the lookout for the details of style. As an indication of his freedom in making combinations we give 5, 4, 20 *Philotam et Coenon cum Amynta et Polyperconte*; and in sec. 30 *Philotas cum Polyperconte Amyntaque et Coeno*; 6, 8, 17 *Hephaestion et Craterus et Coenus et Erigyus*; 6, 11, 10 *Hephaestio autem et Craterus et*

Coenus . . . Hephaestion cum Cratero et Coeno; 7, 7, 9 Hephaestio, Craterus et Erigyus. Taken as a whole Arrian and Curtius have many more personal details than are given by Diodorus and Plutarch, and we cannot but feel that stylistic considerations influenced the selection by Curtius. We find in 8, 1, 1 Hephaestionem uni, Coenon alteri duces dederat; in sec. 10 Hephaestionem et Artabazum opperiens. This is a differentiation of Arr. 4, 16, 2 and 3, who names Coenus and Artabazus as leaders of one of the divisions. Curt. 7, 10, 10 Peucolao . . . relicto . . . Ptolemaeus et Melamnidas peditum III milia et equites mille adduxerunt mercede militaturos, is intended to reproduce Arr. 4, 7, 2 Ἦκον δὲ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἐπόκιλλος καὶ Μελαμνίδας καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῶν Θρακῶν στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, οἱ τὰ τε χρήματα <τὰ> ἐν Μένῃτι πεμφθέντα καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατήγαγον.

The using of more names by Curtius than are found in Arrian is not infrequent. He has in 7, 3, 2 Caranum et Erigyium cum Artabazo et Andronico, while Arr. 3, 28, 2 has three of these in different order, Ἀρτάβαζόν τε καὶ Ἐριγύιον καὶ Κάρανον. It is perhaps proper that Curtius should have cum Artabazo et Andronico, for they are in reverse order in Arr. 3, 23, 9. Compare also with the four given in 5, 4, 20 and 30 (see above), the three given in Arr. 3, 18, 6 Ἀμύνταν δὲ καὶ Φιλώταν καὶ Κοῖνον. Fewer names are also used. Curtius has in 8, 6, 20 Epimenes . . . fratri suo Eurylocho . . . quid paratur, aperit, omitting the intermediary Charicles mentioned by Arrian in 4, 13, 7 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἐπιμένης ὁ Ἀρσαίου τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς φράζει τὴν πρᾶξιν Χαρικλεῖ τῷ Μισάνδρου, ἱραστῇ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονότι· Χαρικλῆς δὲ φράζει Εὐρυλόχῳ τῷ ἀδελφῇ τῷ Ἐπιμένους. καὶ ὁ Εὐρύλοχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Αἰγίου τῷ σωματοφύλακι καταλέγει ἅπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα· ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔφρασε. Also in Curt. 4, 13, 28 Nicanor . . . Coenus . . . Polypercon . . . Amyntas, the names of Perdiccas and Meleager are omitted from the list given in Arr. 3, 11, 9. Agathon is mentioned in Curt. 5, 1, 43 and again in 10, 1, 1 isdem fere diebus Cleander et Sitalces et cum Agathone Heracon superveniunt, qui Parmenionem iussu regis occiderant. But we find in Arr. 6, 27, 3 Ἦκον δὲ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ἅμα Παρμενίωνι ἐπὶ τῆς στρατίας τῆς ἐν Μηδίᾳ, Κλείανδρός τε καὶ Σιτάλκης καὶ Ἡράκων, τὴν πολλὴν τῆς στρατίας καὶ οὗτοι ἄγοντες,

though in 3, 26, 3 he names Cleander, Sitalces and Menidas. It is possible that either Heracon or Menidas ought to be read in both passages of Arrian, though a parallel is offered by 3, 21, 10 where he has Σατιβαρζάνης, but in 3, 21, 1 Ναβαρζάνης, which is given several times by Curtius.

In reporting one incident at least we believe that Curtius has introduced an inference of his own. Two Greek accounts tell us that at a crisis in the battle of Arbela, Parmenio sent a message to Alexander: Plut. Alex. 32 ἀπέστειλε πρὸς 'Α. ἀγγέλους φράζοντας; Arr. 3, 15, 1 πέμπει Παρμενίων παρ' 'Α. σπουδῇ ἀγγελοῦντα. The words of Curtius are in 4, 15, 6 propere igitur Polydamanta mittit. The participle used by Arrian in the singular justified Curtius in naming Polydamas as a messenger, in harmony with the statement in 7, 2, 11 Longe acceptissimus Parmenioni erat, proximus lateri in acie stare solitus. Curtius in 7, 11 names Cophes as the messenger to treat with Arimazes. We do not have the account of Diodorus, but as Arrian, usually very careful in giving names, mentions merely a herald in 4, 19, 3, it is possible that here also Curtius has supplied the name.

All the body-guards of Alexander are named as actors in important situations: Curt. 8, 14, 15 Ego (*Alexander*) Ptolemaeo Perdiccaque et Hephaestione comitatus; 6, 8, 17 Perdiccas et Leonnatus, also in 10, 7, 8; 8, 1, 45-46 a Ptolemaeo et Perdicca inhibetur . . . Lysimachus et Leonnatus etiam lanceam abstulerunt; 8, 6, 22 Ptolemaeum ac Leonnatum; 9, 5, 15 Subit inde Timaeus et paulo post Leonnatus, huic Aristonus supervenit. The latter and Pithon are also mentioned in the discussion following the death of Alexander. Except for these two notices, and the fact that he is named as body-guard in Arr. 6, 28, 4 (compare 7, 5, 6) we might doubt the existence of Aristonus. His remark in 10, 6, 17 placere igitur, summam imperii ad Perdiccam deferri, foreshadows the action of Pithon in 10, 7, 8 consilium Perdiccae exequi coepit. It seems that Pithon should be read instead of Aristonus, unless we assume that Curtius used the name Aristonus merely to give to him the same artistic treatment as had been given to the ones mentioned above.

From what has been stated we may correct and explain the account in Curt. 9, 7, 12-14; and 9, 8, 1-2, the two parts being

separated by the story about Dioxippus. The parallel account is in Arr. 6, 14, 1-3. It states that 150 legates came to Alexander, bringing gifts, asking that he respect the freedom which had been maintained from the days of Dionysus, but agreeing to accept a satrap, pay tribute, and give hostages. Alexander asked for 1000 of their strongest men, which were sent together with 500 chariots and the outfit for them. Curtius in 9, 8, 1-2, names the gifts, and doubles the other items of Arrian—CCC erant equites, MXXX currus. But the latter is *prima facie* suspicious, for the XXX makes it altogether too definite. We find in 9, 7, 14 deditos in fidem accepit stipendio, quod Arachosiis utraque natio pensitabat, inposito. Praeterea II milia et D equites imperat. Without reference to what was to be written in the next chapter, this number seems calculated from Arrian's account, with three men to each chariot. The first part about the tribute is clearly wrong, for they had never been in bondage to any nation (Curt. 9, 7, 13). They brought gifts, and Alexander said that for tribute he would accept what they had brought. Read "stipendio, quod adhuc hospitibus utraque natio pensitabat, inposito."

There are three interpreted elements in Curt. 5, 1, 16 Alexander quartis castris ad Mennin urbem pervenit. Caverna ibi est, ex qua fons ingentem bituminis vim effundit, adeo ut constet Babylonios muros ingentis operis huius fontis bitumine interlitos esse. A certain number of stades are interpreted as four days of easy marching, another Greek expression, as the city Mennin, and the conclusion with *constet* is the interpretation of the general situation. This section stands between two portions of Curtius, secs. 10-15 and 17-45, similar to Diod. 17, 64-65, 1. Justinus has nothing bearing on the question, for he sums up the entire movement from Arbela to Susa in 11, 14, 8 donatis reffectisque militibus XXXIV diebus praedam recognovit—and Babylon is not mentioned. Arr. 3, 15, 5 and 16, 3-5 briefly states the main points, and there are found *σταδίους μάλιστα ἐς ἑξακοσίους* (15, 5), *εὐθύς* with finite verb, and *ἀπὸ τῶν* (16, 3). Plut. Alex. 35 has two pages about naphtha, and the suggestion about bitumen came to Curtius from a part of the first sentence *Ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἄπασαν εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇ γενομένην ἐθαύμασε μάλιστα τό τε*

χάσμα τοῦ πυρὸς [ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις,] ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς συνεχῶς ἀναφε-
ρομένου καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ νάφθα . . . Curtius, because of Arrian
apperception, or by deliberate narrative contamination of
Arrian and Plutarch, saw the words of Plutarch partially
Arrianized, and from these words came the Latin of section 16.

2. Numbers.

Most of the numbers found in Curtius are from Diodorus, but a few are from Arrian. Many are the variations from both, but some of them are incidental to copying, as in 6, 2, 9 XXVI *milia talentum proxima praeda redacta erant: e quibus duodecim milia in congiarium militum absumpta sunt. Par huic pecuniae summa custodum fraude subtracta est.* This gives a part of Diod. 17, 74, 5 Παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν γαζοφυλακούντων παρέλαβεν ὀκτακισχιλίων τάλαντων ἀριθμόν, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τὰ νεμηθέντα τοῖς στρατιώταις σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκπώμασιν ὑπῆρχε μύρια καὶ τρισχίλια τάλαντα, τὰ δὲ διακλαπέντα καὶ ἀρπαχθέντα πλείω τῶν εἰρημένων ὑπενοεῖτο. From it and Justinus 12, 1, 1 it can be seen that XIII should be restored in Curtius. That Curtius had a lively interest in the numbers given is shown by his reference to Clitarchus, and his remark in 5, 6, 8 *ingens captivae pecuniae modus traditur, prope ut fidem excedat. Ceterum aut de aliis quoque dubitabimus aut credemus in huius urbis gaza fuisse C et XX milia talentum: ad quae vehenda . . . iumenta et camelos et a Susis et a Babylone contrahi iussit.* Yet the number 120000 is given by Diod. 17, 71, 1. He is certainly to be commended for not reporting that of the *iumenta* there were according to Plut. Alex. 37 10000, and of camels 5000, or 3000 according to Diod. 17, 71, 2. These last numbers need not have astounded him for he makes Hermolaus say in 8, 7, 11 at tibi XXX* *milia mulorum captivum aurum vehunt*, and in 7, 8, 8 he has 12000 rafts made in three days to carry across the Tanais the soldiers of Alexander, although many of them went across on inflated skins. In 5, 3, 23 he has XXX for *τριακοσίων* which has slipped into the text in Diod. 17, 68, 3. He has in 5, 2, 11 L *milia talentum argenti non signati forma, sed rudi pondere*, translating Arr. 3, 16, 7, and varying from Diod. 17, 66, 1. Here Curtius followed Arrian, but at many points no harmony can be established for the numbers used by different writers of the history of Alexander. For this reason only a few points will be considered here.

It is an interesting fact that the writers show less desire to state the number of the Greeks than of the Persians, though the numbers given could not be verified. The object seems to have been to exalt the heroism of the Macedonians in the presence of a foe far outnumbering themselves. It might seem that, if not too astoundingly large, one guess was as good as another. The loss of the Persians at Issus is put at 110000, but Justinus in 12, 9, 10 distributes these among the killed and captured. Plut. Alex. 18 places the number in the army at 600000. Arrian has the same number in 2, 8, 8 with *ἔλεγετο*. Curtius does not give the sum, but the items in 3, 9, 1 are from Arrian. Contrasted with these Diod. 17, 31, 2 and Just. 11, 9, 1 have 500000. The statements of the loss at Arbela have no connection with each other: Curt. 4, 16, 26, 40000; Arr. 3, 15, 6 300000 (*ἐλέγοντο*); Diod. 17, 61, 3 90000. The number of men in the army as given in Plut. Al. 31 is 1000000; in Arr. 3, 8, 6, with *ἔλεγετο*, the same number, plus 40000 cavalry, practically the same as the 45000 given in Curt. 4, 12, 13; but for the infantry Curtius has DC milia; and Just. 11, 12, 5 CD, the reverse order of the letters. Diod. 17, 53, 3 has 900000. Plut. Alex. 66 says that there were 120000 infantry and 15000 cavalry in the army of Alexander at the close of the Indian campaign. Curt. 8, 5, 4 gives 120000 as the number at the beginning of the campaign. See also Arrian Ind. 19, 5 *δῶκεκα μυριάδες αὐτῶ μάχιμοι εἶποντο*.

Dosson, p. 188, N. 4, calls attention to Curt. 6, 6, 7 *amicos vero et equites*, *hi namque principes militum*, and suggests that *ἑταῖροι ἱππεῖς* was probably mistaken for *ἑταῖροι καὶ ἱππεῖς*. There is a mistake somewhat similar in Curt. 5, 4, 14 *Cratero igitur ad custodiam relicto cum peditibus, quis adsueverat, et eis copiis, quas Meleager ducebat, et sagittariis equitibus M*, assuming that there were 500 each of the bowmen and horsemen named in Arr. 3, 18, 4. There is the same explanation for Curt. 5, 12, 4: Arr. 3, 16, 2; Curt. 7, 6, 24: Arr. 4, 3, 7.

Arrian generally indicates the distance traveled by the days' journeys, and in some instances these are changed into stades by Curtius, 200, or 150, if the road is difficult, for each day's journey.

Agreement is noticeable at some points, as in Curt. 4, 10, 10 *mille ferme*: Arr. 3, 7, 7 *σὺ πλείους ἢ χιλίους*; Curt. 7, 5, 18

sexto demum die: Arr. 3, 29, 4 ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις. More frequently there is given a definite for the indefinite statement of the Greek: Curt. 3, 1, 8 sexaginta dierum inducias pacti: Arr. 1, 29, 2 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἢ ξυνέκειτο; Curt. 5, 4, 33 XL ferme equitibus: Arr. 3, 18, 9 ἐν ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσι; Curt. 6, 4, 2 additis DC equitibus et totidem sagittariis, reversing the order in which the two classes are put in Arr. 3, 23, 2 Κράτερον δὲ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὗς καὶ ὀλίγους τῶν ἱππέων ἐπὶ Ταπούρων ἔστειλεν. Diodorus is followed in a larger number of instances: Curt. 5, 1, 39 XXXIII dies; Just. 11, 14, 8: Diod. 17, 64 4 πλείους δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν; Curt. 5, 1, 40 cum nongentis* octoginta* equitibus: Diod. 17, 65, 1 ἱππεῖς δὲ βραχὺν λείποντες τῶν χιλίων; Curt. 9, 3, 21 equitum V milia: Diod. 17, 95, 4 οὐ πολὺ λείποντες τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων; Curt. 9, 4, 15 nonaginta milia peditum . . . equitum X milia nongentaeque quadrigae: Diod. 17, 98, 1 κατέλαβε τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἡθροικότας πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν ὀκτακισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ μυρίους, ἄρματα δ' ἑπτακόσια. Curt. 9, 6, 1 rex VII diebus curato vulnere: Diod. 17, 99, 5 ἐπὶ πολλὰς δὲ ἡμέρας. Compare the indefinite statement in Curt. 7, 9, 21 quadriduo rex longum itineris spatium emensus, with the definite one in Arr. 4, 6, 4 ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις διελθὼν χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους τῇ τετάρτῃ ὑπὸ τὴν ἑω προσῆγε τῇ πόλει.

The three stages at the siege of Pimprama are given in Arr. 5, 22, 3 to 24, 5; by Curtius in sixteen lines in 9, 1, 14 seqq. The latter account is interesting as stating the loss for one stage not mentioned by Arrian. There is also in Curt. 7, 3, 23 VII milibus Caucasiarum et Macedonum praeterea militibus, quorum opera uti desisset, permissum in novam urbem considerare, a similar rhetorical dealing with Diod. 17, 83, 2 Κατέκισε δ' εἰς ταύτας τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων ἐπτακισχιλίους, τῶν δ' ἐκτὸς τάξεως συνακολουθούτων τρισχιλίους καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοὺς βουλομένους. But, although it may seem to transgress the limits of valid criticism, we believe that the statement in Curt. 10, 1, 19 imperavit . . . ad urbem Syriae Thapsacum septingentarum carinas navium ponere: septiremis (ἄπ. εἰρ.) omnes esse, is a rhetorical outgrowth of Plut. Alex. 68 Καὶ πλοῖα παντοδαπὰ περὶ Θάψακον ἐπήγγυτο, καὶ συνήγοντο ναῦται καὶ κυβερνῆται πανταχόθεν; cf. Arr. 7, 19, 3 and 23, 5. As the last word on this subject we can say that although Curtius may be inclined

to magnify numbers, as in 3, 11, 25 *ingens circa eam nobilium feminarum turba constiterat*: Arr. 2, 11, 9 *Καὶ ἄλλαι ἀμφ' αὐτὰς Περσῶν τῶν ὁμοτίμων γυναῖκες οὐ πολλαί*, we must commend his moderation in 9, 3, 24 *secundo amne defluxit*, XL *ferme stadia singulis diebus procedens*, when we compare his words with Pliny, N. H. 6, 60 *proditur Alexandrum nullo die minus stadia DC navigasse Indo nec potuisse ante menses V enavigare adiectis paucis diebus*.

3. *Time.*

The question of time is of little moment except in giving the ethical shading to the portrait of Alexander, and it is for this reason that Curtius paid little attention to chronology, either in general, or in particular cases. He begins 6, 2, 1 *sed ut primum instantibus curis laxatus est animus . . . excipere eum voluptates*. This is the only indication that it was some time after the death of Darius. We find in 8, 12, 4 *hinc ad flumen Indum sextis decimis castris pervenit*, and there is no indication of either the time or place of starting. *Interea* does not always indicate the period, as in 7, 6, 1; nor *deinde* the time when, as in 4, 8, 12; 5, 13, 3; 7, 6, 11. Taken as a whole the time element is much less important than the local.

4. *Place.*

Curtius did not have an exact knowledge of the regions in which Alexander operated. In 3, 4, 10 he locates in Cilicia some places lying outside; in 5, 4, 7 has the Araxes flow into the Medus; in 7, 10, 15 has Alexander cross the Ochus and the Oxus on one march; in 9, 9, 10 names the Etymandrus among the rivers of India; and, as does Arrian, he frequently mentions the Tanais. Still he comments freely and inexactly on local conditions. He has in 5, 13, 1 *Tabas—oppidum est in Paraetacene ultima—pervenit*. According to Arr. 3, 19, 2, after entering P., Alexander came into Media on the 12th day (sec. 3), then into Ecbatana in three days (sec. 4), and into Ragae in eleven days (20, 2). In 6, 5, 24 he locates the land of the Amazons, Hyrcaniae finitima . . . *circa Thermodonta amnem Themiscyrae incolentium campos*, and adds that the Queen was the ruler of all between the Caucasus mountain and the Phasis river. The first part is given in reverse order

by Strabo 11, 5, 4 C 505, and the second part is a variation from Diodorus 17, 77, 1. Though they bordered on India, he says in 7, 3, 4 Arachosios quorum regio ad Ponticum mare pertinet, subegit. When describing Bactria in 7, 4, 27 he speaks of the effect of the winds from the Pontic sea. We find in 5, 1, 11 euntibus a parte laeva erat Arabia, when it was on the right, and in the same way the right and left are sometimes confused in depicting battle scenes.

We read in Curt. 8, 12, 4 that when Alexander came to the Indus he found everything prepared for crossing; yet we are not told that he crossed. He then advanced to the Hydaspes, crossed, defeated Porus, and founded two cities—Curt. 9, 1, 6; Just. 12, 8, 8; Diod. 17, 89, 6; Arr. 5, 19, 4; but Plut. Alex. 61 mentions one. Arrian traces the course of Alexander from here to the Hypasis, stating his arrival at, and his crossing of, each river, both on the forward and the return march. Curtius tells of but one crossing in 9, 1, 8 hinc porro amne superato, without naming the river. Diod. 17, 90, 4 and Arr. 5, 21, 1 have *περάσας τὸν ποταμόν*, but Arrian mentions the Acesines in the preceding paragraph. We find in 9, 1, 12 hinc per deserta ventum est ad flumen Hyarotim; but Diod. 17, 90, 4 describes the region as a rich one, and Arr. 5, 21, 3 speaks of the flight of the inhabitants, so that *deserta* in Curtius must be taken as equal to *loca deserta fuga incolentium*. According to Arr. 5, 29, 5 Alexander returned to the Hydaspes, and did some repairing of the cities he had founded. But we find in Just. 12, 9, 1 inde Alexander ad amnem Acesinem pergit; per hunc in Oceanum devehitur. Diod. 17, 95, 3 also brings him to the Acesines. If the account stopped here we should have to say that according to Diodorus the return trip stopped at the Acesines, but sec. 5 states that having finished the boats he named the cities he had founded (on the Hydaspes) and sailed down the river. Curtius has the following about the terminus: 9, 3, 20 ad flumen Acesinem locat castra; sec. 21 iam in aqua classis, quam aedificari iusserat, stabat; sec. 23 oppida quoque duo condidit. But 9, 1, 6 tells of the founding of the cities on the Hydaspes, and sections 3-5, of building the fleet. The case may be briefly summed up. The testimony of Arrian is clearly for the Hydaspes, though he admits in 5, 29, 3, that a city was founded on the

Acesines, and that some things were prepared for the journey to the Ocean. Justinus has an epitome of the evidence of Diodorus; but this is apparently contradictory, and that of Curtius is certainly so.

Hinc is freely used and the reference to preceding movements is often not clear, as in 6, 2, 12; 6, 4, 20 and 23; 7, 6, 10; 8, 12, 4; 9, 1, 8. Similar to these is 8, 10, 7 *inde domita ignobili gente ad Nysam urbem pervenit*.

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III.—MAGNIFICAT AND BENEDICTUS.

ZDMG 58, 617-632¹ I have discussed the prototype of the *Magnificat* (Luke 1: 47-55). The so-called *Song of Hannah* (1 S 2: 1-10) refers to Zerubbabel:² he is the anointed whose horn JHVH exalts, the king to whom He imparts strength, whose foes He will shatter. JHVH will restore the Davidic kingdom; He can make a barren woman (Judah)³ bear seven, while a fruitful mother (Persia) withers.⁴

From dust He raises the lowly,
from the ash-heap He lifts up the needy,
And makes him sit among nobles,
and glorious thrones he inherits.⁵

Jerusalem was an ash-heap after the catastrophe of 586.

The tone of the *Song of Hannah* as well as of the *Magnificat* of Elisabeth (ZDMG 58, 617, l. 7) and the *Benedictus* of Zacharias (Luke 1: 68-79) is national rather than individual, and all three hymns are manifestly incongruous to the situation they are supposed to illustrate (ZDMG 58, 618, l. 7). Both the *Magnificat* and the *Benedictus* were not composed by St. Luke, as Harnack (RE^s 12, 73, l. 26; ZDMG 58, 628, n. 3) believed, but represent Hebrew psalms inserted by the compiler of the Judeo-Christian legends prefixed to the Third Gospel (EB 3342, 3; 3347, 13). Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Lucae* (Berlin, 1904) disregards the first two chapters; his translation begins with c. 3.

For the abbreviations see vol. 39 of this JOURNAL, p. 306; cf. JBL 36, 75.

¹ Contrast ZDMG 58, 618, l. 10 and Gunkel's *Ausgewählte Psalmen* (1911) pp. 287, 340.

² Cf. Zech. 8: 4; JBL 32, 107, l. 7 and 110, l. 1; JHUC, No. 114, p. 108.

³ Cf. the remarks on the rebellions in the provinces of the Persian empire after the assassination of Pseudo-Smerdis (522) in JBL 32, 107.

⁴ See the translation and reconstruction of the Hebrew text in ZDMG 58, 621; cf. JBL 35, 157, below; also G. Jacob, *Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen*, p. 42, below; EB¹¹ 3, 624^b, l. 29.

The *Magnificat* is a Maccabean psalm which may have been composed under the reign of Simon (142-135). The ταπείνωσις τοῦ δούλου* αὐτοῦ (Luke 1: 48) is the Syrian persecution; the victory He gained with His arm (v. 51^a) refers to the Maccabean victories; the proud He scattered (v. 51^b) are the Greeks; the potentates whom He hurled from the thrones (v. 52^a) are the kings of Syria, Antiochus V Eupator in 162 and Demetrius I Soter in 150, and the oppressed whom He exalted (v. 52^b) are the Jews (*Mic.* 44, n. 6). We can hardly believe that the poet had in mind Alexander Balas (*Eccl.* 36, n. 9). Johannes Weiss, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen, 1907) 1, 419, ad 52, thinks that the potentates may allude to Pilate and Herod Antipas, and that the proud (v. 51) may be the members of the Sanhedrin, especially the high-priestly family of Annas and Caiaphas; but this view is untenable.

The Hebrew original of this Maccabean psalm may be restored and translated as follows:

וקדוש שמו:	תגדל נפשי ליהודה	46 ^a . 49 ^b
ותגל רוחי:	אשר-דאָה בעני עבדו	48 ^a . 46 ^b
לדור דורים:	וחסדו עלי יראיו	50
מיאשרוני יהודות:	כי-גדלות עשה-לי שדי	49. 48 ^b
פזר גאִים:	בוקעו עשה חיל	51
וידם עגנים:	הוריד נגשים מכסאתם	52
ורעבים מלא-טוב:	עשירים שלח ריקם	53 ^a . b
לזכר את-דחקיו:	תמך בישראל עבדו	54
לאברהם ולזרעו:	כאשר דבר אל-אבותינו	

(ז) כל
(ח) ערעולם

(ט) כי הנה מעתה

(א) 46 באלהי ישעי
(ב) 51 בזמות לבם

* Τῆς δούλου is an editorial adaptation. We need not assume that the original text was 'ḏnī ben-āmāṭō (Pss. 86: 16; 116, 16).

¹ For the reading 'anā'im cf. JBL 35, 156, l. 2.

MAGNIFICAT.

- 46^a My soul magnifies JHVH,
 49^b holy is His name;
 48^a For He noticed His servants' oppression,
 46^b and my spirit rejoiced.^a
 50 His mercy is on those who fear Him
 from generation to generation.

 49 Great things did Shaddai^a to me;
 48^b ^{or}generations will bless me.
 51 With His arm He gained the victory,⁹
 He scattered the proud;³
 52 From their thrones He put down potentates,
 and exalted the oppressed.

 53^b The rich He sent away empty,¹⁰
 53^a filled the hungry with good things.¹¹
 54 He helped His servant Israel,
 not forgetting His mercy,¹²
 55 As He had promised unto our fathers,
 Abraham and his seed.¹³

(a) 47 in God, my deliverer

(β) for behold from now on

(γ) 48 all (δ) 51 in the imagination of their heart (ε) 55 for ever

This Maccabean hymn consists of three triplets with 3+2 beats in each line. There are not 16 hemistichs, but 18=9 *mēšalim* (JBL 36, 142). Westcott-Hort prints vv. 52 and

^a For *Šaddaj*=*‘Eljôn*, mountain-god, cf. WF 212.⁹ Cf. the translation of Ps. 60: 14 (=108: 14) in the Polychrome Bible; also the renderings of De Wette-Baur⁹, Grätz, Delitzsch, and FV 281. The Ethiopic version of the *Magnificat* has *gábra xájlā ba-mazrá‘tū*; see Ludolf's *Psalterium Davidis* (1701) pp. 334. 335.¹⁰ Cf. e. g. 2 Mac. 3: 28; 4: 26. 42; 5: 7; 8: 11. 25. 36; 1 Mac. 15: 31; 16: 8.¹¹ Cf. 2 Mac. 10: 6; 1 Mac. 4: 56; AJSL 21, 136.¹² From the Hebrew point of view it would be more accurate to translate: *He remembered His mercy, helping His servant Israel*; cf. the remarks on *dibbār lēmór*, he said speaking, in JBL 34, 71 and below, n. 43.¹³ The Hebrew original did not mean: *that He might remember mercy* (as He spoke unto our fathers) *toward Abraham and his seed* (so RV). Contrast Plummer *ad. loc.*

53 as two hemistichs, but these two verses contain four hemistichs (or two *mššalim*).

While the *Magnificat* is a Maccabean hymn, the original of the *Benedictus* is one of the earliest Hebrew psalms, written at the end of the Babylonian Captivity:¹⁴ the child apostrophized in Luke 1: 76 is not John the Baptist, but Zerubbabel, the grandson of the last legitimate king of Judah, who was born, it may be supposed, in 538 when Cyrus gave the Jews permission to return to Jerusalem (JBL 32, 108, n. 3). There are far more references to Zerubbabel than is generally supposed. I pointed out twenty-five years ago (JHUC, No. 114, p. 110) that Ps. 110 was a glorification of Zerubbabel, and I have recently given a new translation of this poem, with restoration of the Hebrew text, in JSOR 2, 82. Ps. 110 was originally one of the *Songs of The Return*, but was afterwards replaced by Ps. 132 (JSOR 2, 76) which was composed for Zerubbabel's inauguration of the restoration of the Second Temple (JBL 33, 168). In JBL 37, parts 3 and 4 I have explained Ps. 21 which glorifies the coronation of Zerubbabel. Also Ps. 20 (JBL 37, parts 3 and 4) was written by one of his adherents.

Grætz (1883) believed that the author of Ps. 89 was Zerubbabel or one of his descendants; also Fr. W. Schultz (1888) thought of Zerubbabel. Ps. 89: 20-52 was composed after the suppression of Zerubbabel's rebellion in 519, and the preceding section (vv. 1-19) was afterwards prefixed for liturgical purposes. The original poem consists of lines with 3+3 beats, while the lines of the liturgical section have 2+2 beats. In vv. 17-19 we must omit *kol-hai-îôm, tif'ärt, bi-rêṣôněkă*, and *Îsra'él*.

OLZ 12, 67 I pointed out that the first four couplets of Is. 9: 1-6 praised Cyrus' edict permitting the Jews to return to Jerusalem, while the second four couplets hailed the birth of Zerubbabel in 538. In *Mic.* 51, † I stated that also Is. 11: 1-8 referred to Zerubbabel.¹⁵ *Mic.* 54, n. 40 I showed that *Mic.* 5: 1. 3 was a quotation from a poem referring to Zerubbabel.

¹⁴ There are no pre-Exilic psalms (JHUC, No. 163, 54*).

¹⁵ Contrast Gesenius' *Jesaja* (1821) 1, 420, below.

Is. 11: 1-6 should be read and translated as follows:

1	יֵצֵא-חֹטֵר מִגֹּזַע יֵשִׁי	וְנָצַר מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל יִפְרֹחַ:
2	וְנָחָה עָלָיו רוּחַ-יְהוָה	וְרוּחַ חֲכָמָה וּבִינָה
	וְרוּחַ עֲזָה וְגִבּוֹרָה	רוּחַ-דָּעַת וִירָאת־יְהוָה: [1]
5	וְהָיָה צֶדֶק אֲזוֹר מִתְּנָיו	וְהָאֱמוּנָה חָגוּר חֲלָצָיו:
3 ^b	וְלֹא לִיעֲנִיּוֹ יִשְׁפֹּט	וְלֹא לִאֲזָנוֹ יוֹכִיחַ: י
4 ^b	וְהָבָה עֲרִיץ בִּיפְיוֹ	וּבִישָׁפְתָיו יִמִּית רָשָׁע:
8	וְשַׁעֲשַׁע יוֹנֵק עַל-הַר-פֶּתֶן	וְעַל-מַעֲנַת צַפְעוֹדִי גִמּוּלִי:
6	וְהָרַחֵב עֵם-כִּבְשׁ	וְנָמַר עַם-נִדְרֵי יִרְבֵּן
{ }	כַּפִּיר וּמִרְיָא {י} יַחְדּוֹ	וְנָעַר קֶטֶן נְהַגְבֵּם: י

(א) 3 מראה	(ב) משמע
(ג) 4 ושפט בצדק רלים	והוכיח במשור לענני-אצן
(ד) 5 שבת	(ה) 6 ועגד
(ו) 7 ופרה קרב תתרענה	(ז) 8 ירו הדח
(ח) 9 לא-ירעו ולא ישהיתו	יחדו ירבצו ילדיהן: **
כ-מלאה הארץ רעהג	בכל הרי קרשי
	[**] כפים לים מכסים:
<hr/>	
(***) 7 ואריו כבש יאכל-חבן	(גג) 8 אה יהח
	(***) 9 ותרחתה יראת יהח

THE SPROUT OF THE STUMP OF JESSE.

- 1 The stump of Jesse has sprouted,
a shoot grows up from its roots;
- 2 Upon it will rest JHVH's spirit,
a spirit of wise discernment,
A spirit of counsel and valor,
a spirit of reverent¹⁷ awe. []

¹⁶ For *šif'ôn* see JBL 36, 82.

¹⁷ *Da'î* means not only *knowledge*, but also *consideration*, regard, respect, reverence; cf. AJSL 19, 138. The primary meaning of *šadâ* is *to smell*, scent; cf. JBL 34, 72 and Arab. *nāṣiṣa*.

- 5 His hip-girdle will be Right,
and Troth the belt of his loins;
3 He'll not judge a cause at ^afirst blush,
nor decide a case at first ^bear,^γ
4 But ^bhis mouth will smite the ruffian,
^ahis lips will slay the wicked.
- 8 At the asp's hole sucklings will play,
and weanlings ^fat the den of the viper,
6 The wolf will lodge with the lamb,
the leopard lie down with the kid,
{ } Young lions and fatlings{^γ} will be comrades; ^θ18
a young boy will be their leader.⁴

-
- (α) 3 sight (β) hearing (θ) 4 the rod of [with fairness
(γ) 4 He'll judge the lowly with rightness, and decide for the poor
(ε) the breath of (ζ) 8 will put their hand (η) 6 or calves
(θ) 7 The cow and the bear will be friends, their young will lie down
together.^{κκ}
(ι) 9 They'll not commit evil or wrong on all my holy mountains,
When the land is full of reverence^{λλ} [^{μμ}] as the waters cover the sea.
-

(κκ) 7 the lion will eat straw like cattle

(λλ) 9 for JHVH

(μμ) 3^a it will be steeped¹⁹ in the fear of JHVH

This zoological imagery, of course, must not be interpreted literally:²⁰ the poet simply meant to say that under the reign of the Davidic scion Zerubbabel the most disparate elements will be united; there will be no disparity, no incompatibility, no violence, no treachery. Therefore the young boy who will lead (v. 6) Judah in the future is called in Is. 9: 5 the *Prince of Weal*.²¹ I have discussed some of the most difficult passages

²⁰ Lit. *will be at one*, in harmony.

²¹ Lit. *drenched with*. This verb is construed with the accusative (GK²² § 117, 2). The reading *ḥē-argēhū bišū'atī* in Ps. 91: 16 (GB²³ 736^a) is improbable; cf. FV 277. *Ḥ* has in Is. 11: 3^a *ἐμπλήσει αὐτόν, 3 replebit eum*. The reading *henih-bô jir'at lahû* does not commend itself. Nor can we read *hēsihō*, He will cause him to pay attention (JBL 36, 82, l. 9). *Ḥ* *hārihō* cannot mean *his delight*; nor can *hērihō* signify *He inspired him* (GB²⁴ 748^b).

²² Cf. Matt. 23: 33; 7: 15; BL 121, †. Grotius (1644) says: *Omnes haec locutiones figuratae significant altam et inconcussam pacem*.

²³ Duham (1914) still thinks it possible that both Is. 9: 1-6 and 11: 1-8 are Isaianic; contrast the translations of the two poems in the Polychrome Bible.

of Is. 9: 1-6 and the prefixed Maccabean gloss (Is. 8: 23) in several of my papers, *e. g.* OLZ 12, 67; *Mic.* 48, below; 51, n. 30; JBL 32, 113, n. 23; 35, 283; 37, parts 3 and 4 (Heb. *mô'êç*, counsel). This patriotic poem should be read and translated as follows:

רא-אור גדול ינגה עליהם:	1. יהוה לכים בחשך ישבי מצלמות ²
הגדלתה שמחה כשמחת בקציר ³ :	2. הרביתה גילה שמחו לפניך
ואת-קט השקמו בו ⁴ החתת:	3. כי-את-על סבלו ושבט הנגש
ושמלה מוגלדה ⁵ מאכלת אש:	4. וכל שאן-זרעש ⁶ והיתה לצרפה
ובן נתן-לנו עטרת המשרה ⁷ :	5. כי-ילד יקר-לנו ותהי ⁸ על-ראשו
מופלג מועין ושן שלום:	ויעקרא שמו איל-גבורים אבי-ועד

²² For the reading *çölamôt* see AJSL 32, 66.

²³ For the prefixed *bô* (JBL 32, 112, n. 19) cf. *bî tamēkâ ižminēka* (Ps. 63: 9) = *ἐμοῦ ἀντελάβετο ἡ δεξιὰ σου, με suscepit dextera tua*.

²⁴ Read *šôn-rá'š*; see *Est.* 28. The corresponding Arab. *ša'n* (plur. *šū'ân*) is used of the sutures of the cranium; but Lat. *sutor* denotes a cobbler or shoemaker.

²⁵ We need not read *ye-tihē*; cf. GK²² § 109, k.

²⁶ For *mišrâ* cf. my paper on *Masora* in JBL 37, parts 3 and 4.

6 {ולשלוֹם אִי־קָץ} לִירְבָּה׃ הַמְשָׁרָה {}
עַל־כֶּסֶף דָּוָד וְעַל־מַלְכָּתוֹ

יִלְסַעְרָה׃ בַּמִּשְׁפָּט׃ מַעֲתָה וְעַד־עוֹלָם׃
קִנְיַת יְהוָה׃ תַּעֲשֶׂה זֹאת׃

(ז) אור	(ח) בארץ	(ט) 1. 9. העם
(י) ברמים	(יא) 3. ביום דין	(יב) 2. כאשר יגילו בחלקם שלל
(יג) והאחרון הכביר	(יד) 4. סאן ב	(טו) 3. בעת הראשונה
		(טז) 8. 23. הקל ארץ הוכלוני וארץ הנפתלי והאחרון הכביר
		(יז) [גליל] דרך הם (והגוים) עבר הירדן □ 0 :
(יח) צבאות	(יט) ובצדקה	(כ) 6. 9. להכין אותה ו

END OF EXILE AND BIRTH OF ZERUBBABEL.

- 9, 1 "Those who walked in darkness
beheld a great light;⁸⁰
Those who dwelt in ⁸¹gloom—
upon them it⁸² dawned.
- 2 Thou hast increased exultation,
hast given great joy;
They joy over thee⁸³
as men joy in harvest.^{82a}
- 3 For the yoke they had to bear,
and the bow⁸⁴ they had to shoulder,
The rod of the driver—
them thou hast broken.⁸

⁸⁰ For the prefixed emphatic *la-* see *Est.* 56, l. 4; JBL 29, 105, n. 68; contrast GK⁸⁰ § 114, i, n. 1. Also the first word of the last couplet should be read *lis'adâh=la-is'adâh*, verily, he will support it.

⁸¹ The reading *Midjân* is due to dittography. For *îôm-dîn* cf. *Aḥoḏ. sar.* 18^a; *Snh.* 8^a (BT 7, 856, l. 6; 27, l. 5)

⁸² The omission of the feminine ending may be due to haplography.

⁸³ Vogel apud Grotium (1776) says: *Nexus orationis non ad tempora Sanheribi ducit, sed ad ea quae post captivitatem Babylonicam secutura sint.*

⁸⁴ Assy. *ina pânika ixâdû* means *they welcome thee* (HW 270^a).

⁸⁵ Cf. my translation of Ps. 4 in AJSL 26, 5.

⁸⁶ For *bow* (=ox-bow) cf. JBL 36, 252.

4 Every clanking shoe²⁴
and cuirassed²⁵ corselet²⁴
Will go to the smelter
to feed the fire.

5 A child is born to us,
a son is given us,
On whose head there will be
the crown of sovereignty.

They'll give him the names²⁶
Wonderful Counselor,
Captain, Father of the Flock,
and Prince of Weal.

6 {Weal without end!}
he'll increase the dominion{ }
Beyond David's throne
and beyond his kingdom.²⁷

He'll support it with justice²⁸
from henceforth for ever.
The zeal²⁹ of יהוה³⁰
will carry this out.

(α) 9. 1 the people (β) the land of (γ) light

(δ) 2 Or as they exult in dividing spoil.

(ε) 3 on the day of judgment (ζ) 4 shod with (η) with blood

(θ) 8, 23 aforetime the land of the Zebulunites and the land of the
Naphtalites was disgraced,³¹ but a³² later³³ (king) rehabili-
tated [the region of] the Road to the Sea and (the peoples)
across the Jordan [](³⁴)

(ι) 9. 6 to establish it and (κ) and righteousness (λ) Sabaoth

²⁴ Cf. BA 3, 174, ll. 14, 17; 6, 1, p. 99, l. 8; p. 100, l. 14.

²⁵ The phrases *to be called* or *to have a name* are used in Assyrian
for *to be* (KB 6, 3; JBL 34, 46, l. 6).

²⁶ Cf. ZDMG 61, 283, n. 2.

²⁷ Lit. *some one disgraced the land*.

²⁸ Cf. GK³⁵ § 126, r.

²⁹ Lit. *latter*, posterior.

³⁰ See the explanation of this late Maccabean gloss in *Mic.* 49, l. 1.

The Hebrew original of the *Benedictus* (Luke 1: 68-79) was composed in the same meter and, as in Is. 9: 1-6, the first section refers to the termination of the Babylonian Captivity, while the second hails the birth of Zerubbabel. This patriotic poem, which was composed about 538, should be read and translated as follows:

אלהי ישראל	ברוך יהוה	68
וישלח לו פדות:	כיפקד את-עמו	
קץ ישועה:	וירם לנו	69
ומבף ישנאינו:	ממיד איבינו	71
לעבדו בליפחד:	להצילנו ולתקנו	74

יעליון תקרא	ואתה הילד	76
לפנות את-דרכינו:	כי-תלך לפנינו	
פקדנו הנגה:	ברחמי אלהינו	78
בחשך וצלמות	להאיר לישבים	
אל-דרך השלום:	ולהקין את-דגלינו	

כז (ז)	זג ישועה (ז)	69 בבית דוד עברו ⁷⁷
	ולזכר את-כרית ⁷⁸ :	71 לעשות-חסד עם-אבותינו
74 מיד איבים	לאברהם אבינו:	73 את-השבויה אשר-נשבע
76 נביא (ז)	כל-ימי חייו	75 בהם ⁷⁹ לפניו
77 יהוה	ישועה	77 לתת לעמו
78 מנצח	אשר בהם	78 חסד
<hr/>		
79 ובצדקה	77 קרש (ז)	77 כאשר דבר בני נביאיו, הקדושים אשר מעולם

BENEDICTUS.

68 Blessed be JHVH,
the God of Israel,
Who has looked on His people,
and sent it redemption,

⁷⁷ *Ἦ* has ἐποίησεν λύτρωσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ. *ⲙ* ⲕⲁ-ⲉⲃⲁⲃ ⲗⲉⲗ ⲡⲓⲣⲓⲕⲁⲛⲁ, but *ⲕⲁⲓ-ⲓⲃ-ⲓ-ⲗⲟ ⲣⲉⲃⲁⲓ* or *ⲕⲁⲓ-ⲓⲃ-ⲓ ⲣⲉⲃⲁⲓⲗⲟ* would not be idiomatic Hebrew.

⁷⁸ Or *zarhō*; cf. Is. 60: 3.

- 69 And raised for us
a horn of deliverance^a
71 ^βFrom the power of our foes,
from the hand of your enemies,^δ
74 To set us free^e and permit us⁴³
to serve Him without fear.[‡]
- 76 And thou, O child,
wilt be called⁸⁸ exalted,
Thou'lt walk before us^θ
to clear our ways.^{‡ 44}
- 78 Through our God's mercy^λ
the dayspring^μ has looked on us,
79 To bring light to the tenants
of darkness and gloom,
And guide our steps
to the path of weal.

-
- (α) 69 in the house of His servant David^π
(β) 71 deliverance (γ) all [ἐκ]covenant,
(δ) 72 Showing mercy to our fathers and remembering His
73 The oath he had sworn to our father Abraham.
(ε) 74 from the power of our foes
(ς) 75 In purity^{οο} before Him all the days of our life.
(η) 76 a prophet of the (θ) ἡνν [mission of their sins
(ι) 78 And to give His people knowledge of deliverance through re-
(κ) tender (λ) whereby (μ) from above
-

(ππ) 70 as He had spoken through the mouth of His holy prophets in times of yore

(ξξ) 72 holy

(οο) 75 and righteousness

The *Benedictus* comprises two pentastichs, not five couplets as Holtzmann supposed. Plummer's statement that this hymn is modeled on the prophecies, whereas the *Magnificat* is modeled on the psalms, is gratuitous; nor is it true that the tone of the *Benedictus* is sacerdotal, and that of the *Magnificat* regal. The *Benedictus* is more regal than the *Magnificat*, and the *Magnificat* more sacerdotal than the *Benedictus*.

⁴³It would be more accurate to translate: *He set us free and permitted us to serve Him without fear, raising for us a horn of deliverance from the power of our foes, from the hand of our enemies*; cf. above, n. 12.

⁴⁴That is, Thou wilt be our leader in removing all obstacles to the restoration of Judah.

The *redemption* in the second line of the *Benedictus* is the termination of the Babylonian Captivity; the *horn of deliverance* is Cyrus;⁴⁵ the *foes* are the Babylonians;⁴⁶ the *tenants of darkness and gloom* are the Jewish exiles in Babylonia. The compiler of the Judeo-Christian legends prefixed to the Third Gospel,⁴⁷ who inserted this ancient Hebrew hymn, may have inserted η which spoils the rhythm; he may also have added ν , and he may have changed the possessive suffixes of the first person plural in the fourth line of the first pentastich into the third person singular; β was inserted after the third line of the first pentastich had been severed from the fourth line by the insertion of α and ν . Also ζ and ϵ may have been added by the compiler, but the other glosses had probably been incorporated in the original Hebrew text which the compiler had before him. The received text of the Hebrew Psalter exhibits a great many secondary additions, many of which had no doubt become a part of the text before the hymns were collected by the redactors of the Psalter.⁴⁸ The compiler of the legends of the birth of John the Baptist and the Nativity of Christ did not use Greek versions of the Hebrew psalms introduced as the *Magnificat* and the *Benedictus*: these legends were originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, and the hymns were inserted in their original Hebrew text, and translated into Greek when the introductory legends prefixed to the Third Gospel were Grecized.⁴⁹

The $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ in v. 76 is the new-born Davidic scion Zerubabel; it does not refer to Israel, but corresponds to the $\dot{\imath}\dot{a}l\dot{d}$ in Is. 9: 5; it is not an editorial adaptation for $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ =Heb. $\dot{a}b\dot{d}$; nor is the second pentastich (vv. 76-79) a Christian addition to an original Jewish Messianic song.⁵⁰

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⁴⁵ The Zionists might call President Wilson a *horn of deliverance*.

⁴⁶ Not the Romans, as J. Weiss (cf. above, p. 65) thinks (*op. cit.* 1, 421, ad 71).

⁴⁷ Plummer thinks it possible that the Virgin Mary may have been the writer of the documents used in the first two chapters.

⁴⁸ Cf. e. g. my interpretation of Ps. 90 in JBL 31, 123 or Ps. 68 in AJSL 23, 239. For my arrangement of the Biblical poems in groups of stanzas (Assyr. *šêru*=Arab. *šurrah*; cf. EB¹¹ 15, 898^b, l. 14) and larger divisions cf. p. 5 of Zimmer'n's *Ištar und Šaltu* (Leipsic, 1916).

⁴⁹ Additional comments on the *Benedictus* and the other hymns briefly discussed in the present paper are given in an article *The Child in Luke 1, 76* which will be published elsewhere.

⁵⁰ Cf. JBL 21, 50; ZDMG 58, 628, n. 6.

IV.—DRAVIDIAN S.

The importance of the sound *s* for Dravidian philology seems to have been generally overlooked. In southern Dravidian, 5 and 6 begin with vowels. Two of the northern languages have native numerals above 4, and in both of them 5 and 6 begin with *s*. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar explains the *s* of these numerals as a "euphonic prefix." The models found in Greek and Eranian allow us to construct a more useful theory of Dravidian *s*. An early *s* was regularly changed to *h* in the south, and sometimes in the north; afterward the sound *h* was often lost, as it has been in modern Greek. We must therefore look into northern Dravidian, if we wish to understand the history of the southern languages.

The chief northern divisions are Brâhui, Gôndi, Kui, Kurukh-Malto. The isolated Brâhui, spoken in the extreme northwest near the Afghan border, is more closely akin to Kurukh-Malto than to any other division, according to Konow, who compiled the Dravidian section of the Linguistic Survey of India. Aside from Brâhui, the northern speech-districts adjoin those of the Kolarian or Munda family, lying in the region south of the Ganges. Former contact with Kolarian seems to be implied by Brâhui *urâ* (house), beside *urâ* (house) in Kûrku, the westernmost of the Kolarian tongues. Brâhui *urâ* is probably connected with Gôndi *rôn* (house) and southern *ûr*, *ûru* (village).¹

The southern languages are Kanara, Kêlan, Tamil, Telugu, Tulu. Kêlan might be called a Tamil dialect, if it had not developed a separate literature. The greater conservatism of the southern languages is shown by the native numerals, including words for 100: Kanara *nûru*, Tamil *nûdru*, Telugu *nûru*, Tulu *nûdu* < **nûtro*. But Aryan elements are of course mixed in with the vocabulary, and we may suspect traces of Kolarian influence too. Besides such words as Telugu *nippu* = Tamil

¹ A good account of Brâhui is to be found in Bray's Grammar (Calcutta, 1909). For the other northern languages I have used mainly the Linguistic Survey, vol. 4 (Calcutta, 1906).

neruppu (fire), Kanara *kircu* (fire), and Kanara *beṇki* (fire) connected with *bē*- = Tamil *vē*- (burn), we find Tulu *tū* = Tamil *ṭ* (fire). These last look like relatives of Savara *to*, *tōgi* (fire), recorded in the Kolarian word-lists of the Linguistic Survey, vol. 4, p. 251. It is remarkable that the other Kolarian languages have words meaning 'fire' entirely different from Savara *to*, *tōgi*, and that similar words occur in Indo-Chinese: *tu*, *to*, *tə*, *te*.¹ In any case the Tulu *ū* implies a change of *oi* or *ui* to *ī* in Tamil.²

Kanara and Telugu have alphabets fundamentally the same, differing hardly more than our script and print. Their spellings agree fairly well with modern speech, and may be assumed to represent the older sounds. The letters corresponding to palatal occlusives, here transliterated *c* and *ç*, may have been read as affricates when these languages were first written. Early Kanara and Telugu have a letter that may be called the *ṛ*-symbol. It was probably sounded like Castilian *rr*; the modern languages use the ordinary *r*-symbol instead of *ṛ*. Kanara now uses *l* (reverted *l*) for the older *ṛ* (reverted *r*). Spoken Kanara has affricates like those of English *charge*, and spoken Telugu has *ts*, *dz*, or intermediate sounds, where the spelling indicates the simple occlusives *c* and *ç*. The occlusive element is lengthened where the written symbol is doubled; popular transcriptions such as "*chch*" and "*tsts*", unfortunately used in serious works dealing with these languages, imply sound-groups impossible in the southern Dravidian languages.³

The Kanara alphabet has been adopted for Tulu, the non-

¹ T'oung-pao, vol. 17, p. 42 (mars, 1916).

² In addition to Caldwell's Comparative Grammar and the Linguistic Survey, I have used the following works for southern Dravidian: Kittel, Kannada-English Dictionary (Mangalore, 1894); Arden, Tamil Grammar (Vepery, 1910); Pope, Tamil-English Dictionary (Oxford, 1905); Pope, Tamil Handbook (Oxford, 1911); Pope, The 'Sacred' Kural (London, 1886), with a translation and a vocabulary; Vinson, Manuel de la langue tamoule (Paris, 1903); Wickremasinghe, Tamil Grammar (London, 1906); Morris, Telugu Grammar (London, 1890).

³ Similar mis-transcriptions are common also in books dealing with northern Dravidian: here the lack of native literatures forbids even the use of *cc* and *çç*, justified by historic reasons in the literary languages of the south.

literary member of the southern group, spoken around Mangalore on the west coast. Where Kanara spelling differs from the modern sounds, Tulu should be transcribed in accordance with the sounds. Thus we must use *tš*, *ttš*, *dž*, *ddž*, in transcriptions of Tulu, not *c*, *cc*, *č*, *čč*, as in Kanara; and initial *je*, *jž*, *wo*, *wō*, instead of the simple vowels represented by Kanara spelling. In the southern languages the sound *j* (= *y* in *you*) is added as a hiatus-filler before palatal vowels, and *w* or *v* (< *w*) before labial vowels, when the preceding word ends in a vowel that cannot be elided. These added sounds are often kept in speech after a pause; in the written forms of isolated words, the ordinary spellings of Kanara and Tamil use the vowel-symbols alone. In Tulu the added sounds have apparently become fixed. Tulu seems to have the sound *w* where the *v*-symbol of the Kanara alphabet is written. The distinction of *v* and *w* is not clear, even in the Aryan languages. Sanskrit has a single symbol for *w* and for *v*, the latter having replaced the former except after less sonorous sounds.¹ In Marāṭi the *v*-sound is said to be rather weak (bi-labial?), and English *v* is transcribed as *vh*.² Caldwell tells us that *w* is generally used for *v* in spoken Kanara, and sometimes in Tamil. Indoportuguese has changed *v* to *w*,³ evidently under the influence of neighboring Aryan or Dravidian tongues. Thus it is possible that the old *w*, or the intermediate bi-labial *v*, has been kept in many regions of India. As the native alphabets fail to distinguish *v* and *w*, the history of these sounds is obscure.⁴

The Tamil alphabet was at first used for writing Sanskrit. This is shown by its former lack of symbols distinguishing the quantity of long and short *e* and *o*. In early Dravidian these vowels could be short or long; but the short vowels did not occur in Sanskrit. Written Latin can be understood without length-marks: in the same way the quantity of *e* and *o* was left

¹ Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 57 (Boston, 1891).

² Bloch, *Formation de la langue marathee*, § 153 (Paris, 1915).

³ *Revista lusitana*, vol. 6. p. 67; vol. 9, p. 150.

⁴ My direct source for Tulu is the *posa woḍambaḍike* (New Testament) published by the B. and F. Bible Society, printed at the Basel Mission Press (Mangalore, 1894). Indirect sources are the *Grammar of Brigel*, as quoted by Caldwell, and the *Dictionary of Männer*, as quoted by Kittel. The *Linguistic Survey* omits Tulu.

for the reader to guess, when the Tamil alphabet came to be used for Tamil. The modern use of modified symbols for Tamil *ē* and *ō* is ascribed to the influence of Beschi (an Italian missionary) and other Europeans, who naturally felt the need of such symbols more than natives would.

It is generally held that Sanskrit *ghōṣa* (horse) is a Dravidian loan-word, connected with the equivalent Kanara *kudure*, Tamil *kudirai*, Telugu *gurramu*.¹ Formally it belongs with Kanara *karte*, Tamil *karudai*, Telugu *gāḍide* (ass), derived from **ghaṣotas*. Sanskrit developed the stem **ghaṣuta* > **ghauṣa*, with *ṣ* for *t* by assimilation to *z*, a sound which afterward disappeared from Sanskrit.² We may assume that the horse was once unknown in India: when it was introduced, Dravidians at first gave it the name of its relative, **ghaṣotas*, and some of the Aryans borrowed the word in its altered sense. The old meaning is kept in two later loan-words, with *r* for Dravidian *ṛ* (<*z*), Sanskrit *khara* and *gardabha*. The *kh* corresponds to the Tamil unvoicing of occlusives or the Kanara unvoicing of aspirates; *g-bh* instead of *gh-bh* was a normal development in Sanskrit.³ Dravidian **ghuteras* (horse) meant 'runner' like our *horse* beside Latin *curr*-<**kurs*-. the verb-root *kud*-<**ghut*- is seen in Kanara *kuduku*- (trot), Tamil *kudi*- (leap).⁴

The consonant-system of ancient Dravidian was nearly the same as that of Sanskrit. The early use of aspirated occlusives, now rare in the south and unknown in Tamil, is shown by the evidence mentioned above. All occlusives became voiceless in Tamil more than two thousand years ago; afterward simple occlusives became voiced between voiced sounds. The basis of Tamil spelling goes back to the time when all occlusives were

¹ Kittel, K. Dictionary, p. xx.

² Cp. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 222.

³ Cp. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 155. The Aryans perhaps mistook the ending of later **kharotas* for a demonstrative, and therefore dropped it. The ending of *gardabha* may have come from the synonym *rāsabha*.

⁴ The form **khuteras*, a normal development from **ghuteras* in some of the Dravidian tongues, corresponds to loan-words found in southern Kolarian: Gadaba *krutā*, Savara *kurtā*. Gōndi *kōṛā* is a composite of such a *k*-form and the Aryan word represented by Kui *gōṛā*, Kurukh *ghōṛā*. The *gh* of older **ghuteras* (preserved by Aryan mediation?) is found in Gōndi *ghurīā* = Kurukh *ghurī* (mare).

voiceless. Tamil has developed no distinctive voiced occlusives, and can therefore get along with a spelling that represents all occlusives as voiceless sounds. But spelling has been adapted to speech where the occlusives became fricatives ($c > \zeta > j$ and $p > b > v$). Because of other possible changes, it would hardly be safe to transliterate the spelling mechanically. Thus if we wrote '*atu*' for *adu*=Kanara *adu* (that thing), on the ground that the Tamil consonant-letter really means *t*, we might be inventing an unreasonable form. We know nothing about the relative chronology of $t > d$ and $o > u$; the ancient Kanara-Tamil form was perhaps **ato*, or **ate*=Telugu *adi*.

Early Tamil has a letter representing *h*, now read as the velar fricative x (=Russian x before *a*). The eighteen consonant-letters of ordinary Tamil may be transliterated *k* (*g*), *ṇ*, *c* (*ḷ*), *ñ*, *t* (*ḍ*), *n*, *t* (*d*), *n*, *p* (*b*), *m*, *j*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*, *r* (*rt*, *tr*, *dr*), *n*. A few other letters may be added in the Tamil spelling of Aryan loan-words: they correspond to the Sanskrit symbols for *ḷ* (read as *dṣ*), *ṣ*, *s*, *h*. Spoken Tamil has the velar fricative γ for $g < k$ between vowels; in the extreme south, *h* may replace γ . The age of γ is uncertain: as Sanskrit had no γ , ancient Tamil spelling would not have used a separate symbol for such a non-distinctive sound. Initial *c* has developed thru *cḷ* to *ḷ* and *ḷ* in spoken Tamil. The same medial sound-change, with a formation of *cḷ* earlier than the voicing of occlusives between vowels, was widespread in spoken Tamil, so that the *c*-symbol now represents *ḷ* or *ḷ* between vowels. The older affricate, resembling English *tch*, is used for *cc* and for *c* following another occlusive. The group written as *ñc* corresponds to spoken *ndṣ*: occlusives were voiced after nasals earlier than between vowels. Where *j* stands for pre-literary *c*, it indicates dialect-mixture: in a portion of the Tamilian territory, medial *c* following a vowel was (like the *c* of the group *ñc*) changed to *ḷ* before initial *cḷ* was developed from *c*. Medial *cḷ* was not subject to voicing; medial *c* became *ḷ* where it did not undergo an earlier change to *cḷ*.¹

The distinction of two *n*-symbols in Tamil seems to be merely graphic: the first is written initially and in the group *nd* < *nt*,

¹ Kittel's Dictionary, which gives Tamil cognates in Kanara characters, misrepresents $\zeta < c$ as *dṣ* between vowels.

the second in all other positions. Corresponding to the \bar{r} -symbol of early Kanara and Telugu, Tamil has a letter formerly sounded as \bar{r} (strongly trilled r) between vowels. It represents spoken dr after n , and the doubled letter represents ttr , which may be reduced to tt . It is read as t or as r before a consonant; a following occlusive is voiceless, not voiced as after the ordinary r . These variations seem to imply an ancient rt , which became dr between vowels; similarly rtt became ttr . The group ndr is derived from nr and from ndn : it was naturally written with the old rt -symbol after the dr -value was established. We may use dr and \bar{r} between vowels, to show the older and the more recent values. It seems possible that $\bar{r} < dr$ and rt came from voiceless r , but we know so little of Tamil phonology that it can hardly be proved.¹

Brāhui keeps initial s before vowels. A clear example is *saṛ-* (be well cooked, rot), beside Kanara *aṛ-*, *aṛi-* (destroy, perish, rot), *aṛal* (grief), *aṛal-* (grieve), *aṛku-* (be rotten), Tamil *aral* (fire), *aṛalu-* (burn), *aṛartci* (pain), *aṛi-* (destroy, perish), *aṛugu-* (rot). The basic meaning of these words is 'destroy' or 'perish'; derivatives are 'burn, pain' and 'be burned, be cooked'. The sense of Kanara *aral* has perhaps been modified by that of *aṛ-*, *aṛu-* (weep), which has a different root, as is shown by Gōndi *aṛ-* (weep) with no initial h . Dravidian *saṛ-* and *aṛ-* (rot) are Aryan loan-words corresponding to Hindi *saṛ-*, *sar-* (rot).

Other Brāhui examples are perhaps *sarr-* (grow up) beside Kanara *aralu-*, *alaru-* (blossom, open, spread), Tamil *alar-* (blossom); and *sur-* (move) beside Kanara *urulu-*, *urulu-*, *urlu-* (roll), Tamil *urulu-* (roll). As Latin 'stand' makes Hispanic 'be', we may compare Brāhui *sal-* (stand) with Gōndi *hille* (not), Kui *side-* (is not), Kanara *illa* (is not), Tamil *illai* (is not), Telugu *lē-* (is not), Tulu *iddži* (not). The Brāhui *a* agrees with that of *raf* beside palatal vowels in the equivalent Kurukh *xebdā*, Kanara *kivi*, Tamil *cevi*, Telugu *cevi*, Tulu *kebi* (ear). A suffixed vowel may mark negation in Dravidian, so there is no difficulty about the sense of the

¹ Spoken Tamil confuses \bar{r} and r , but the \bar{r} of *kiṛistu* indicates a recent leveling. Many natives learned the word from Beschi, who must have used in *Cristo* a sound more strongly trilled than the ordinary Tamil r .

words corresponding to Brâhui *sal-*. Tulu *iddši* has normal *dši* < *dri*, as in *wondži* = Tamil *ondru* (one), *mūdši* = Tamil *mūndru* (three); it seems to be formally the same as Tamil *indri* (not being). The Kui *ḍ* agrees with that of *iḍu* = Tamil *iḷ*, Telugu *iḷlu* (house).

From Brâhui *ka-*, Gôndi *sā-*, Kui *sā-*, Kurukh-Malto *ke*, Kanara *sā-*, *sa-*, Tamil *cā-*, *ce-*, Telugu *cā-*, *ca-*, Tulu *sai-* (die), it is clear that *s* may come from *c* in Gôndi and Kui. Most of the Gôndi dialects changed an early *s* to *h* before the later *s* was formed from *c*; Kui has kept the older *s*. But Gôndi and Kui are near neighbors, so it is not strange that a few Gôndi dialects shared the leveling with Kui. The Linguistic Survey records *sā-* (die) beside *šilā* (not) in one (p. 505), with *š* for *s* before a palatal vowel; and *hā-* (die) beside *hille* (not) in another (p. 543). Both of these dialects confused the old *s* and *s* < *c*; one of them changed the resultant to *h*. Some of the Gôndi dialects have *halle* instead of *hille*, and one has both *hale* and *hile* (L. S., p. 526), showing that the two forms are separate words. The *h* of *hille* was added to **alle*, which came from the root represented by Brâhui *alla-* (was not), Kurukh *mal-* (is not), Malto *mal-* (is not), Kanara *alla* (is not), Tamil *alla* (is not); in Kurukh-Malto the initial *m* was added under the influence of *men-* (be).

Initial *ṣ*, treated like *s* in the south, makes Brâhui *ṣ*: *ṣalāp* = Kanara *alambu-*, Tamil *alambu-*, Telugu *alamu-* (wash). Other examples are perhaps *ṣīr-* (smooth out) beside Kanara *īraku-*, *īri-* (press), Tamil *idrukku-* (tighten); and *ṣurr-* (scratch) beside Kanara *ore-* (grind, rub, touch), Tamil *urai-* (rub). Gôndi and Kui have *s* for initial *ṣ*. In the numerals 4—7, Gôndi *nālūṅ*, *saijūṅ*, *sārūṅ*, *jērūṅ*, Kui *nālgi*, *siṅgi*, *sadṣgi*, *odgi*, Kanara *nālku*, *aidu*, *āru*, *ēru*, Tamil *nāngu*, *aindu*, *ādru*, *ēru*, Telugu *nālugu*, *aidu*, *āru*, *ēdu*, Tulu *nāl*, *ain*, *ādṣi*, *jēl*, the widespread *k* or *g* of 4 seems to be radical. Gôndi and Kui have extended the endings of 4 to 5—7. The Dravidian stems of 5 and 6 were apparently **ṣain*, **ṣatro*. The *n* of 5 was often altered and lost in contact with initial consonants, so that many of the derivatives lack a nasal: thus Kanara has *ainūru* (500), *aivattu* (50), *aivaru* (five persons).

Lack of material makes it hard to say how initial *s* was treated in Kurukh-Malto; we should expect it to be kept as in Brâhui.

The northern treatment of medial *s* is shown by Brâhui *ras-*, Gôndi *avv-*, Kui *āndb*, Kurukh-Malto *ārs-* (arrive), probably derived from **arans-*. Gôndi has *avv- < *arv- < *arav- < *arāh-*: medial *h* was lost, and *r* was assimilated to hiatus-filling *v < w*, in accordance with *kis* = Kanara *kircu* (fire). Kui *āndb-*, with normal *b* for the *v* kept in other dialects, represents **arnav- < *arnah-*; medial *s* was weakened to *h* and lost as in Gôndi. Telugu has *rā < *aranso*, used as the imperative of *va-* (come). An early southern *s* is implied by Tamil *ājiram* (thousand), derived from Sanskrit *sahasra*. If there had been no *s* in Tamil when the Sanskrit word was borrowed, the Tamil form would be **āram*. The sound-group *sr* was unknown in early Dravidian: *sahasra* was adopted as **sāsara* or **sāsera*, and the loss of *h < s* caused *j* to be added as a hiatus-filler. The Tamil *m* need not be connected with the same Sanskrit ending; neuter *a*-stems take *m* as the nominative-ending in Tamil.

Tamil *ai* is common as a stressless ending, but rare otherwise. It seems likely that the ending *-ai* was derived from *-as* or *-ās*, or from both; similarly Italian has *i* for final *s* in *dai < das*, *poi < post*, *voi < uos*. Tamil has *-ai* for the final vowel of Sanskrit *ā*-stems in loan-words. This does not indicate a change of *ā* to *ai* in Tamil: it shows that early Tamil had the noun-ending *-ās* and used it for Aryan *-ā*. The stressless ending *-ā* is extremely rare in Tamil nouns, and is a variant of older *-avv*.

Since the foregoing was written, I have found *il-* (stand) in the Malto Gospels (Agra, 1881-82). Some of the forms have a suffixed stem *idž-* (for **ildž-*), and there is a corresponding *iddž-* (stand) in Kurukh. These verbs are evidently connected with Brâhui *sal-* (*< *sil-?*), and show that initial *s* has been lost in Kurukh-Malto. Another example seems to be Kurukh *abrā* (those things), presumably derived from Aryan *sarva* (all) and the general demonstrative *a* or *ā*. The form *ibrā* (these things) could be analogic: after **sabrā* changed to *abrā*, its use as the plural of *ād* (*< *ate*) produced *ibrā* as the plural of *id < *ite*. A stressless variant of **sil-* is probably represented by Kurukh *atl-*, *tal-* (be), the development being *tal- < atl- < *astl- < *ast- < *sl-*. The added *t* may be compared with *ṭ* in Kanara *kriṣṭṇa*, a semi-popular variant of *kṛṣṭa < kṛiṣṭṇa* (Krishna).

Other words with *s* before a consonant are hard to find. Initial *sn* may be assumed for the root of the following verbs: Brâhui *hur-* (look), Gôndi *hūr-* (see), Kui *sūd-* (see), Malto *ṭund-* (see), Kanara *nōḍ-*, *nōṛ-* (look, see), Tamil *nōkku-* (look at), Telugu *cūc-*, *cūḍ-* (see), Tulu *tū-* (see). Brâhui could have developed *h* from *sn* thru *N* (voiceless *n*). Gôndi and Kui leveled early *s* and *s* < *sN* < *sn*; Gôndi *s* became *h* at a later time. Gôndi variants are *hūr-*, *hur-*, *hur-*, *hud-*; and *sur-*, as we should expect, in the dialect that has *šilā* = *hille*. Malto seems to have formed *t* from *N*: *sn* > *sN* > *st* > *t*. The *t* became *ṭ* by assimilation in *ṭund-*; the nasal may imply **snud-* > **snund-*, with extension as in Spanish *mancha* < *macula*. Tamil has lost *ḍ* before the *k*-suffix of the verb, but it has the corresponding noun *nōṭṭam* = Kanara *nōṭā* (sight), apparently derived from earlier **snōḍḍans* or something similar. Likewise the Telugu verb has lost *ḍ* in the forms that take a *c*-suffix: **tūḍc-* developed thru **tūc-* to *cūc*, with internal assimilation, and then produced analogic *cūḍ-* for **tūḍ-*. Tulu *tū-* has the dialectic variants *sū-*, *hū-*.

A basis **nisatro* seems to be implied by Gôndi *nīr*, Kanara *nīru*, Tamil *nīdru*, Telugu *niguru*, *nivuru*, *nīru* (ashes). The *i*-forms probably indicate assimilation following the loss of *s*: *ia* > *ie* > *i*. The Telugu variants could have come from **nisotro* > **niwotro*, with the *a* assimilated to *o*. The change of *w* to *g* has parallels in European languages, as French *garde* (ward), *guêpe* (wasp), *guerre* (war). If the foregoing nouns are to be connected with Brâhui *his* (ashes), we may assume a root **snis*, with dissimilative loss of initial *s* in Gôndi and southern Dravidian.

Brâhui *nibbar* (weak) and *nizzōr* (weak) look like dialectal variants from a single basis, **nisvar* < **niswar*. By a sense-development 'long—thin—weak', they may be connected with the following words: Kanara *nigar-*, *nigur-*, *nimir-*, *nīḍ-*, *nīl-* (extend), Tamil *nīl* (long). The *m* of *nimir-* (< **niwar-*) has a close parallel in Portuguese *uma*, derived from older *ūa* (< *āna*) thru **ūwa* and **ūwā*.

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V.—TROS TYRIUSQUE (VERG. AEN. I 574).

Latinists like Nonius Marcellus (p. 282 M.; time of Constantine) and Servius certainly baulked at this line, which has been used to embroider myriads of *loci communes* for more than nineteen centuries. '*Agere aliquem*' 'to deal with', or *agi* 'to be dealt w. or treated', is a salto mortale in idiomatic Latinity which no 'poetic license' can explain. The editors of the Latin *Thesaurus* felt it [s. v. *ago* col. 1369]. Servius added the gloss *regetur*: i. e. 'come into my town as citizens w. rights equal to those of my Phenicians: you will be impartially governed'. Nonius Marcellus, I say, baulked also, and wrote downright *habetur*: the future being however in that context indispensable. 'Guyet', as quoted by Ribbeck, suggested *habetor*. Conington, Nettleship and Ribbeck felt the awkwardness of that Latinity but left the verse as it came down to them.

I have had this line in one of my herbaria far longer than Horace's canonic nine years, and as I am getting oldish, I must present my cure while I may. My change is slight.

Tros Tyriusve: *mihi nullo discrimine agetur*, two clauses. VE for QVE. Long ago I put on my margin three parallels, which seem to contribute to the plausibility and I think to the probability of my remedial suggestion.

Aen. 2, 390 . . *dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?* two distinct clauses. The second one (also in Conington's commentary; I gathered it however myself also before I saw it there): Aen. 10, 108 '*Tros Rutulusne fuat nullo discrimine habebō*'. Change (slightly) to: '*Tros Rutulusve fuat: nullo discrimine habebō*'. I see in Valpy's in usum Delphini, 1819, that Taubmann too read *Rutulusve*. The third and last of these buttressing parallels is Aen. 11, 591 sq.:

'*hac quicumque sacrum violarit vulnere corpus,*
Tros Italusque, mihi pariter det sanguine poenas'.

Read: *Tros Italusve: mihi . . poenas: que* in this context is downright illogical.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis, 3 vols., 10½ × 7 in. :
Part I.—Texts and Translation, pp. 15 + 107; Part II.—
Grammatical Analysis, pp. 11 + 183; Part III.—List of
Formations and Glossary, pp. 8 + 92 + 2. By LEONARD
BLOOMFIELD, Assistant Professor of Comparative Phi-
lology and German, University of Illinois (= University of
Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. III, Nos.
2, 3, 4; May, August, and November, 1917).

This work contains an extended treatment of Tagalog, the most important native language of the Philippine Islands, similar in general character and scope to Seidenadel's Bontoc Igorot Grammar with Vocabulary and Texts (cf. my review of the same in this Journal, Vol. XXXI, 3 [whole No. 123] 1910, pp. 339-342). It is the most elaborate and pretentious work yet published on any Philippine language, comprising in all 382 pages of text exclusive of title-pages, preface, table of contents, etc. It is based entirely, as the author tells us in the preface to Part I, p. 10 (166), on the spoken speech of a Mr. Santiago, an educated Tagalog of the town of San Miguel na Matamés, Bulacán Province, Luzon. Part I contains the Tagalog text in phonetic transcription, with accents indicated and the English translation on opposite pages, of thirty-four prose stories and selections illustrative of Tagalog life and ideas. Part II comprises what is practically a grammar of the Tagalog spoken by Mr. Santiago, divided into three parts, viz., Phonetics pp. 134-145 (290-301), Syntax pp. 146-209 (302-365), and Morphology, pp. 210-316 (366-472). Part III contains first a list of nominal and verbal formations, pp. 317-319 (473-475), arranged, with the exception of a few forms without affix, under the various formative elements, so that the list is at the same time a list of these elements; references are given in each case to the paragraphs of the grammar where the forms are discussed. The rest of the volume consists of the word index or vocabulary of the words occurring in the chrestomathy and grammar, the words being arranged according to roots, with the derivatives grouped under each root. Besides the translation of the words, at least one reference to a passage in which it occurs is given.

The texts in Part I offer an excellent body of linguistic material. The plan of furnishing each text with a translation

on the opposite page is to be recommended, as it enables the student to test the correctness of his own translation of the text much better than would be possible on the basis of the vocabulary alone, and much more conveniently than would be possible if the translations were added in a body after all the texts.

The translation of several passages has been omitted thru oversight, viz., p. 68 (224), ll. 6, 7, 8; p. 90 (246), ll. 20, 21; p. 106 (262), l. 27; p. 114 (270), ll. 10, 11. On page 115 (271), ll. 29, 30, the translation "The cheapest thing is the blessing of the corpse at the door of the church and placed on the ground" is obscure; the meaning is—The cheapest form of blessing is that given to the corpse at the door of the church while lying on the ground. The translation of Tagalog *pitú-ng wika*, Spanish *siete palabras* ("seven words"), pp. 20, 21 (176, 177), by "Good Friday mass" is apparently incorrect. The service of the "seven last words of Christ" on Good Friday is a three-hour series of prayers and meditations and not a mass, and so far as I know, the term "Good Friday mass" is never applied to it. The only mass that is celebrated on Good Friday in the Roman Catholic Church is the so-called "Mass of the Presanctified" which is celebrated early in the day, and has no connection with the three-hour service, which is held from 12 to 3 p. m. in commemoration of the three hours that Christ hung on the Cross. In the Index, p. 387 (543), col. 2 near bottom, *siyéte-palábras* is translated "Easter Mass" (? !). The author makes the curious mistake of translating *kala-baw* ('water buffalo') by 'caribou' instead of 'carabao', p. 101 (257), ll. 18, 19 (as also in the Word-Index, p. 385 (511), col. 1); 'caribou' is of course the name of the American reindeer. A misprint which is not noticed in the Corrigenda is *pagisigáwan* p. 48 (204), l. 37 for *pagisigáwan*.

An occasional note might have been added with advantage in order to facilitate the finding of a difficult or irregular form in the Index; e. g., to *pagsa-ulán* p. 62 (218), l. 12—cf. *sa* in Index; or to *katuturán* p. 76 (232), l. 21—cf. *tuwid* in Index. A table of contents giving a list of the selections would have been a convenience.

The Word-Index in Part III is excellent. So far as I know it is unique among Philippine vocabularies and lexicons in being furnished with references to a series of texts. In the explanation at the beginning of the index the statement "the forms are given with fullest accentuation and vocalism (*iy* for *y*, *uw* for *w* after consonant), regardless of actual occurrence" is obscure; the meaning is apparently that the forms are given with the fullest accentuation and vocalism that they can have under any condition, regardless of the fact that they may actually occur in the texts with different vocalization and

accent. The reference *see Corrigenda* under article *-abála* is without meaning, as there is no mention of *abála* or its derivatives in the *Corrigenda* pp. 406-408 (562-564); similarly in the case of the reference *and Corrigenda* under *-álam*. Unnoticed misprints are *na-gáral* under article *áral*, so divided at the end of a line instead of *nag-áral*, and a superfluous *re* at the end of article *-biðaw*. At the top of page 328 (484) the first and second lines of the first column are interchanged. The word *bakás* is defined as *mark, in*; what the *in* signifies does not appear. In the *Corrigenda* to Part II pp. 407, 408 (563, 564), several page references are incorrect, viz., p. 272, l. 2, which should be p. 277, l. 2; and p. 224, l. 25 (?). The *Corrigenda* to p. 297, l. 29 and to p. 313, l. 3, also apparently belong elsewhere.

The most important part of the work is the grammar contained in Part II, which gives an analysis of the speech of Mr. Santiago. This analysis, while containing a number of things that are new, and while characterized thruout by a wealth of example, is given under such unfamiliar forms, with such peculiar principles of arrangement, and in many cases with so much obscurity of statement (similar to that which has already been referred to in Parts I and III), that it is difficult at times even for one familiar with the grammatical structure of the Philippine languages in general to understand the author's meaning.

The most important contribution made by the author to the study of Philippine languages is his treatment of Tagalog Phonetics. Here he gives us the only really scientific treatment yet published of the phonetics of any Philippine language. His discussion of the relation between *i* and *e*, and between *o* and *u* is excellent, and his treatment of the syllable is one of the best things in his work. His discussion of the accent, however, while it contains a great amount of information on this important subject, is in many respects distinctly disappointing.

In the first place his system of accent marks is confusing; he uses the grave accent both for final primary accent and for secondary accent final and non-final. As all four kinds of accents that he mentions, viz., primary final and non-final, and secondary final and non-final differ in pitch and quantity of vowel, there is no more reason for using different marks for the two kinds of primary accent than for the two kinds of secondary. To be consistent all four should have been marked with different signs, or one sign should have been employed for all primary accents, and one for all secondary. According to the system actually used by the author, the words *gabi* (primary final), *bahay* (primary non-final), *aak'yat* (primary non-final and secondary final), and *susulat* (primary non-final and secondary non-final), appear as *gabì, báhay, áak'yat, sùsulat*.

With a separate sign for each of the four accents they might be represented as *gabí*, *báhay*, *áakyát*, *súsúlat*; or with acute accent mark for all primary, and grave for all secondary accents, as *gabí*, *báhay*, *áakyát*, *súsúlat*; either of which methods is certainly preferable to the one used by the author.

All former authorities agree that the primary accent falls on one of the last two syllables, but this is apparently not the case in the dialect of Mr. Santiago, for in any number of words thruout the work we find it marked on syllables before the penult. No statement, however, is anywhere made as to what syllables of a polysyllabic word are capable of bearing the non-final primary accent. No more satisfaction is given with regard to the secondary accent, nor is it stated under what conditions a word may have more than one secondary accent, as seems to be often the case.

It would have been a distinct advantage in the case of Tagalog words with both primary and secondary accents, to have compared them to words in some other language, English, French, German, etc., whose accent scheme approximates that of the Tagalog words, as otherwise it is practically impossible for a student to get any clear idea of how the Tagalog words sound.

The section on sentence accent is very good, and the grouping of words into the four accent classes, atonic, enclitic, pretonic, and orthotonic is especially to be commended, tho the statements with regard to them might be given with more clearness.

The development of a stress weaker than a secondary accent in a series of unstressed syllables, which is discussed in §50, should be more clearly and exhaustively treated. There is no way of knowing whether it refers exclusively to such cases as originally oxytone words which have become atonic (as, e. g., *ang mangà báhay* which becomes *ang manga báhay*, and then *ang mánaga báhay*), or whether it has a wider application.

The Syntax is the most disappointing part of the whole grammar, being decidedly inferior to both the Phonetics and the Morphology. The chief defects are the great number of peculiar and unusual grammatical terms used without good reason for perfectly familiar and suitable designations, the lack of a clear and simple arrangement of the material, and the failure to give adequate treatment to many important categories.

It is divided into four chief divisions, viz., 1) Sentence and Word, 2) Subject and Predicate, 3) Attributes, 4) Serial Groups. In the first division the author enumerates what he considers the chief syntactic relations, viz., Attribution, Predication, and the Serial Relation; predication corresponding to the usual acceptation of that term; the serial relation being that between words connected by coordinating conjunctions like

'and', while attribution includes everything else, tho he does suggest that perhaps it would be well to set up one additional type to be known as "exocentric modification" (?!). He then takes up the parts of speech, of which he distinguishes two, viz., "full words" and "particles", but he states that "independent of this classification . . . are certain less important groupings of words and certain phrase types, some of which will appear in the course of the analysis" (what these are is not stated). "Others, however, demand mention at the outset". These last categories are the following, viz., 1) static and transient words, a transient being a word expressing "an element of experience viewed as impermanent, i. e., belonging to some limited portion of time" (or somewhat more simply, a verb—F. R. B.)¹ while static words are all those that are not transient; 2) personal names; 3) the object construction (i. e., all nouns and words and expressions treated as nouns which are preceded by the definite article *ang*—F. R. B.); 4) expressions of indefinite quantity (i. e., expressions containing an indefinite noun after words denoting 'having' or 'not having'—F. R. B.).

The second division, Subject and Predicate, is clearly and logically arranged, sentences without subject and predicate structure, which he calls "non-predicative", the various kinds of subject, and the various kinds of predicate being discussed.

In the fourth division, Serial Groups, coordinating particles, paratactic sentences, parentheses, and anacoluthic sentences are briefly treated.

The bulk of the Syntax falls in the third division, Attribution, pp. 160-205 (316-365), about 44 pages, compared with about 20 pages for the other three parts. Throwing aside the older terminology of nominative, genitive, and prepositional or oblique cases, tho without good reason, the author distinguishes four attributive constructions (from the point of view of connective particle or case sign—F. R. B.), viz., 1) conjunctive attribution, all cases in which the attribute is joined to the modified word by the particle *ɾ* (= *ng*), *na* (usually called the ligature—F. R. B.); 2) disjunctive attribution (the attribute being in what is usually called the genitive case, tho its application is much wider than what is ordinarily understood by genitive, including case of the agent, instrumental, accusative, etc.—F. R. B.); 3) local attribution (the attribute being in what is usually called the oblique case—F. R. B.); 4) absolute attribution, in which the attribute merely precedes or follows. Conjunctive attribution comprises a treatment of the construction of descriptive, pronominal, and numeral adjectives, of adverbs of manner, and of relative, noun, and purpose clauses; disjunctive attribution covers the various uses of the genitive

¹ The initials indicate explanations injected by the Reviewer.

case forms; local, the various uses of the oblique case forms; absolute attribution includes the use of many of the chief adverbs and conjunctions.

Such a division of the material, while it groups together all the examples of these four types of construction, makes no provision for a connected treatment of material which is logically related, but which differs in grammatical construction, such categories as e. g., adverbs, comparison, various kinds of simple sentences, subordinate clauses, etc. The treatment of some of these categories, indeed, e. g., adverbs and subordinate clauses, will be found scattered in various places in all four of the subdivisions mentioned above, and there is no way of finding and combining these scattered references except by reading thru the text.

This four-fold division is crossed by a very useful three-fold division from the point of view of the position of the attribute, viz., 1) loosely joined, i. e., at the beginning of a sentence, usually followed by the particle *ay*, or at the end of a sentence, 2) closely joined, immediately preceding or following the word modified, 3) enclitic, following immediately the first word of a modified expression, not counting loosely joined attributes.

The Morphology is devoted to an enumeration and discussion of the various forms of words, chiefly nouns and verbs. It is divided into three unequal divisions, viz., 1) Composition, in which are discussed certain combinations of words which somewhat resemble the compounds of other languages pp. 210, 211 (366, 367); 2) General features of word formation, in which are discussed roots, formative particles, reduplication, and accent shift, pp. 211-217 (367-373); and 3) Description of formations, pp. 218-316 (374-472), which are divided into three groups from the point of view of form, viz., a) primary, those without formative particle or with *pag* or *pang*; b) secondary, those made with the prefixes *si*, *paki*, *ka*, *pa*, *pati*; c) irregular derivatives. From the point of view of meaning, each of these is divided into four groups, viz., simple static words, those that involve no idea of active or passive (i. e., ordinary concrete nouns—F. R. B.), e. g., *sulat* 'writing, document'; transients (i. e., verbs—F. R. B.), e. g., *sumulat* 'wrote'; abstracts (i. e., verbal nouns of action), e. g., *pagsulat* 'act of writing'; special static words, which the nouns involve the idea of voice, e. g., *sulatan* 'writing-desk' (i. e., that upon which is written'). The threefold formal division is neither logical nor convenient, but the fourfold semantic division is good, especially the distinction between simple and special static words.

The chief good points of this third division, which with the exception of eight pages makes up the whole of the Morphology, are: the great number and variety of the examples given, which consist of sentences containing the form in question;

the lists of roots which are capable of taking the various formations; and the detailed account of the accent and accent-shift of the various forms. It suffers, however, from a number of defects. The explanations are often obscure, more unusual terms appear, e. g., a verb in the future tense is called a durative contingent transient, there are no paradigms, and the discussion of both the verbal and the nominal systems loses in clearness and unity by the arrangement in which it is here presented.

The grammar as a whole is, from a mechanical point of view, not without a number of defects, some of them of a serious character. In the first place there are two peculiarities of writing which it has in common with Parts I and III. The sign for the glottal catch, which is apparently the upper part of a question mark, the dot at the bottom being omitted, is awkward, and until you become used to it gives a curious interrogative flavor to the word which contains it, which might be compared to the indefinite *f* or labial impression produced on modern readers by the old English *s* which resembles an *f*. Again the ligature *rs*, which really forms a part of the final syllable of a preceding word, is written alone. It would be better to connect it with a preceding word by a hyphen, e. g., *ito-rs*.

Other defects hinder lucidity of presentation and ease of reference. The divisions and subdivisions of the material are not clearly enough indicated by difference in type, indenting, and the like, the same kind of numbers, e. g., (1), (2), etc., and the same kind of type being frequently used for the headings of sections of entirely different order or rank. There is no index, and the meagre table of contents, consisting of about a page and a half, is practically useless as a guide to the large amount of material here treated. The division of the whole text into short numbered paragraphs, and the numbering of the lines of the page (found also in Part I), however, are convenient devices, while the employment of a special notation (§339) to indicate the various peculiarities of word formation will be found useful.

Unnoticed misprints in the Grammar are—'interjectionss' p. 151 (307), l. 21; 'reduplicated' p. 215 (371), l. 25; and the repetition of the word 'aspect' p. 217 (373), l. 26.

The dialect of Mr. Santiago, as the author states (Preface, p. 10 [166]), differs very little from ordinary written Tagalog. Examples of differences I have noticed, which may in some cases be differences between earlier and later stages of the language, are, e. g., the use of *namán* in the sense of 'however' instead of 'also'; *kanyá*, *kaniyá* instead of *kayá* 'therefore'; *ang táo-ng itó* 'this man' instead of *itó-ng táo* or *itó-ng táo-ng itó*; the use of forms like *sumúlat* and *sumusúlat* as preterite and present of the *um* class of verbs instead of *sung-múlat* and *sungmusúlat*; etc.

In a grammatical work like the one under discussion, in which the author follows an entirely new plan of arrangement, some attempt, at least, should be made to show where the new arrangement and the older and more familiar forms touch. The fact that practically no concessions to this natural demand are made by the author is responsible for much of the obscurity that mars his work. The least that could have been asked for in such a book would be a brief index of the familiar grammatical categories with references to the places in the grammar where they are treated, but not even this is furnished. Any grammarian is, of course, thoroly in sympathy with the invention of new terms and the setting up of new categories in the study of a new and peculiar form of speech, but familiar terms and categories should not be thrown overboard, as they are here, without good and sufficient reason, especially when the new terms and categories offer no special advantage over the old, or are in many cases decidedly inferior to them.

The grammatical analysis here given is probably not intended for practical use, and would certainly be almost useless as a handbook for beginners, but even as a scientific treatise it has failed to measure up to many of the chief requirements of such a piece of work. It can hardly be said to have filled the need, which certainly exists, of a *clear* presentation of the most important grammatical facts of the chief Philippine language. In spite of its evident and serious defects, however, the phonological material, the great number and variety of the examples, the word lists in the Morphology, and the number of novel points of view, will make the grammar a useful addition to the material at hand for the study of Tagalog.

To sum up briefly, Part I (Texts) and Part III (Vocabulary) are both first rate specimens of the class of linguistic writing which they exemplify. Part II (Grammar), however, representing an effort in the very field in which a man of the author's evident linguistic ability would be expected to shine, is disappointing; it is not in any sense a model Philippine grammar, and it will be useful to students of Tagalog chiefly for the new points of view it suggests, and as a store-house of linguistic raw material.

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ETTORE BIGNONE: I Poeti Filosofi della Grecia. Empedocle: Studio Critico. Traduzione e Commento delle Testimonianze e dei Frammenti. Torino, Fratelli Bocca, 1916. Pp. xi + 688.

This elaborate study of Empedocles consists of two parts, of which the first (pp. 3-290) treats critically of Empedocles

the man and of his work, while the second (pp. 295-519) gives a translation, with abundant commentary, of the *testimonia* and fragmentary remains of the two works of the poet philosopher. There follow six appendices (pp. 521-676), indices, *addenda et corrigenda*, and a table of contents.

When the book was sent to me I hoped to make it the basis of a detailed study of Empedocles in the form of a review, and therefore deferred the notice which should otherwise have been more prompt. Inevitable distractions and duties have made it impossible to carry out my original purpose. Hence this apology.

It may be said at the outset that Signor Bignone has given us in this volume the best available study of Empedocles, a poet of no mean powers, a thinker at once bold and profound, and a man as picturesque and engaging in the breadth of his interests and activities as history affords. But the book is not equally excellent throughout. While the second part and the appendices are in the main conceived in the sober style of a scientific treatise, presenting the evidence with learning, care, and mature, if not infallible, judgment, the first part impresses the thoughtful reader as rather two ambitious both in style and in scope. Though unquestionably containing the results of very wide reading and much thought, it cannot be said to be generally sound; indeed, I have noted so many points at which our author has quite overreached himself, yielding to the allurements of ill-founded hypotheses and generalizations, that I find it difficult justly to appraise certain really brilliant observations made by the way. Our author has in fact essayed to paint in a complete and detailed background, setting in perspective all the predecessors of Empedocles, a task to which, as the result proves, he was by no means equal; and, like the Italian painter of the Sistine Madonna, he has sketched even the angel faces of those, like Plato, destined to be born in a later age. Who can take seriously his characterization of Plato as a true scion of the Ionian stock cultivated in the school of Socrates?

Plato had indeed an interest in Ionian science, as he appears to have had in every phase of Greek life and thought; and his keen intelligence rendered easy for him a sympathetic view of what the great Ionians of the sixth and fifth centuries had wrought and thought, as witness his Protagoras, Politicus, Timaeus, and Critias; but he toyed with their science, his heart being elsewhere in highlands of which they knew little and recked less. This criticism would be captious if it concerned only an *obiter dictum*; in reality it concerns the central theme of the book, for in the consideration of the historical background of Empedocles it is essential that one distinguish between the contributions of Ionia, which gave rise to history,

geography, geology, and cosmogony, and of Attica and the West, which created metaphysics, the higher mathematics, and cosmography, and added the mystic conception of the soul, without which Parmenides, Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato are unthinkable. Empedocles marks the crossing, but not the blending, of these alien currents of thought. In fact they never did fully blend: certainly not in Plato, not even in Aristotle. The biological works of the Stagirite, for example, show hardly a trace of his metaphysics. The former depended ultimately on the Ionians, the latter descended from Socrates. So alien was this Ionian science to the metaphysically minded, that the Academic and Peripatetic commentators of Aristotle never touched his biological and geographical treatises. How can one write a history of fifth century thought if one has not distinguished these currents and traced them back toward their sources?

When Signor Bignone speaks of mysticism, following the blind guidance of Joel's *Der Ursprung der Naturphilosophie aus dem Geiste der Mystik*, he seeks it where of all places it was least to be found, in Ionia; and with Joel, he seeks to explain sixth century mysticism by the derivative mystics of the Strassburg school. For so uncritical a method our author deserves censure instead of praise. Of course we are confronted by the enigmatic figure of Heraclitus; but on his thought our author has thrown little clear light. There is here a twilight zone which one must tread with caution. Perhaps we shall never be able fully to illuminate the 'dark' Heraclitus, but surely modern mysticism will help us little. Ancient tradition associates both Pythagoras and Heraclitus with mystery religions. There is more hope of help from that quarter when we shall have quite set aside the agnosticism fostered by Lobeck's *Aglaophamus* and made a really intelligent study of the subject. To that end work of no little promise is going forward.

Regarding the interpretation of Empedocles in detail, the most important criticisms of the conclusions set forth by our author I have anticipated in various publications. Of my *Qualitative Change in Pre-Socratic Philosophy* and *Περὶ Φύσεως* Signor Bignone has made abundant use; other articles printed in various places he has either not known or been unable to procure. Thus he would have found the question regarding the supposed inconsistency of Empedocles' views of the soul in his philosophical poem and in the *Καθάρματα* discussed briefly but correctly, as I hold, in my review of Diès, *La Cycle Mystique* (*Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods*, vol. viii, pp. 106-108); problems common to Empedocles and Anaximander, in *Class. Philol.*, vol. vii, pp. 212-234; the background of the corpuscular theories of

Empedocles, Anaxagoras, and the Atomists in Harvard Studies in Class. Philol., vol. xxii, pp. 111-172.

Another study of mine, On Certain Fragments of the Pre-Socratics, Proc. Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences, vol. xlviii, pp. 681-734) escaped the attention of our author. In it I reverted to the subject of the *ψυχή* and *νόμα* of Empedocles and particularly to Emped. fr. 110 Diels (pp. 725-729). I am sure Signor Bignone would have accepted the general view taken of the fragment if he had known the article. I refer to it specially here in order to set right a minor point in the discussion and to add new illustrations of the thought which have come to my notice since the publication of the note.

The question relates chiefly to the words (l. 4 sq.) *αὐτὰ γὰρ αἰθεῖ | ταῦτ' εἰς ἔθος ἕκαστον, ὅπη φύσις ἐστὶν ἕκαστω*. It is of course obvious that *ἔθος* is corrupt, and Diels has adopted the correction of Miller, reading *ἥθος* instead, but retains *αἰθεῖ*, which is likewise corrupt. Regarding the latter it would seem, there can be no doubt that my emendation *αἰθεῖ* must be accepted; and that is the point of cardinal importance. Instead of *ἔθος*, as I pointed out, one might have a choice between *ἥθος* and *ἔθνος*, between which I could not finally decide, although inclining slightly to favor *ἔθνος*. I cannot even now make a definitive choice between the two words, either of which would have been possible, and would have yielded the same general sense. In addition to the references there given for *ἔθνος* in the sense of 'kind', cp. Hippocr. *Περὶ φύσεων*, 6 (6. 96 L.) *ἐστὶν δὲ δις αὐτὰ ἔθνηα πυρετῶν* and *ibid.*, p. 98 L. *ἔθνη τινί, οὐ γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι τῶν ζώων κτλ.*, and Plato Gorg. 455 B. Of *ἥθος* in the sense of the local habitation of a tribe or race, whether of men or animals, Herodotus affords numerous examples, cited by Stein on 2. 142, 16. But when things go to their own places they likewise join their own kind; cp. Arist. de Caelo Δ 3, 310^a 33 τὸ δ' εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ τόπον φέρεσθαι ἕκαστον τὸ εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ εἶδος ἐστὶ φέρεσθαι. Hence the local designations often given to the emanations from the Godhead in the Gnostic systems, in which each being has its *οἰκείος τόπος*. As the Gospel of the Naasenes says of Jesus, *ἦδει γάρ, φησὶν, ἐξ ὁποίας φύσεως ἕκαστος τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ ὅτι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν ἔλθειν ἀνάγκη* (Hippol., Refut. V, p. 152 K.). Their *φύσις* is their kind, defined by certain qualifications, being both the source from which the individual springs and the goal to which he tends. Thus we read *αἱ αἰσθήσεις τοῦ σώματος εἰς τὰς ἐαυτῶν πηγὰς ἐπανέρχονται μέρη γινόμεναι καὶ πάλιν συναριστάμεναι εἰς [τὰς] ἐνεργείας· καὶ ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία εἰς τὴν ἄλογον φύσιν χωρεῖ* (Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 336, 7). This suggests a slight modification of my former interpretation of *ὅπη φύσις ἐστὶν ἕκαστω*, which I explained as meaning 'each after its kind'. Since *φύσις* includes both the kind and its station,

that loose rendering is not far from the poet's meaning; but if we have to choose between *ἦθος* and *ἔθνος*, with the former reading *φύσις* would mean the natural habitat, with the latter it would suggest the *γένος* or *εἶδος* that inhabits it.

Regarding the thought of the fragment as a whole one may note that it proceeds on the assumption of the affinity of like for like, which ancient psychology applied especially to the problem of cognition. The passage cited above from Reitzenstein's *Poimandres* rests on this assumption, as does Hippocr. *Περὶ τόπων τῶν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*, I (6. 278 L.) quoted in my earlier discussion. This is only a special case of *κοινωνία* or *συμπάθεια*, as the Greeks variously called it; and for this notion Hippocr. *Περὶ γυναικείων* B 174 (8. 354 L.) uses the term *ὁμοεθνίη*. One who notes the usage of fifth century writers can have no doubt regarding the meaning of Empedocles nor of the correctness of my interpretation, which sets his words into relation with Lucret., ll. 400 sq. and ll. 1114 sq.

Besides a multitude of minor points on which one might differ from our author regarding the interpretation of Empedocles, there are several large problems raised by his attempt, in the appendices, to reconstruct the order of the extant fragments and to fix the stages of the cosmic cycle as described by the poet. The endeavor was worth the making, and Signor Bignone has advanced both questions; but one cannot accept his conclusions throughout, and space would fail us to debate the questions in detail.

Among the merits of the book is the wide acquaintance of the author with the literature of his subject. The important books are all known to him and he has made assiduous use of them. The periodical publications of European scholars also he knows; it is perhaps intelligible that much that has appeared in American journals should have escaped his notice. In general the proof-reading has been carefully done; but, especially in English titles, numerous slips occur, which American readers will readily correct for themselves. The general index seems to be quite general, omitting references to the authors of special treatises, but containing such to works of a literary character. This seems of a piece with the literary ambitions of our author in the first part of his book.

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REPORTS.

RIVISTA DI FILOLOGIA, XLVI (1918), fasc. 3-4.

Pp. 307-344. Luigi Pareti. Pelasgica. The conclusion of a long article which discusses the ancient theories as to the Pelasgi in Crete, in Sicily, in Southern Italy, and especially in Etruria (see A. J. P. XXXIX 423).

Pp. 345-362 and 411-446. Umberto Moricca. Le tragedie di Seneca. The first two instalments of a long study of the tragedies of Seneca. The author discusses Seneca's imitation of his Greek models, his originality, his power of invention, his development of the action and of the characters of his plays.

Pp. 363-369. Reviews of G. Dottin, *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe* (L. Pareti); M. A. Schwartz, *Erechtheus et Theseus apud Euripidem et Atthidographos* (L. Pareti); W. P. Mustard, *The Eclogues of Faustus Andrelinus and Joannes Arnolletus* (Vittorio Cian).

Pp. 369-371. Short notices of four Princeton dissertations: G. A. Harrer, *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria*; C. W. Keyes, *The Rise of the Equites in the Third Century of the Roman Empire*; R. H. Lacey, *The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian*; L. R. Dean, *A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions* (L. Pareti).

Pp. 372-384. Reports of philological journals, list of new books received.

Pp. 385-396. Luigi Pareti. Ancora sui Taurinii ai tempi di Annibale. Hannibal seems to have crossed the Alps by the Little St. Bernard, and entered Italy by Aosta. 'Taurini' (see Livy, XXI 38) may have been the name of various tribes in that region. It seems to represent an earlier Celtic name 'Taurisci' (= 'mountaineers').

Pp. 397-410. Remigio Sabbadini. Il codice Vergiliano F. An analysis of the Schedae Vaticanae suggests that they were probably written in Spain. They may have been brought to Naples in the fifteenth century by some Catalan humanist.

Pp. 447-457. Reviews of Gaetano De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, Vol. III, Parte I e II (Uberto Pedrolì); Louise E. Matthaei, *Studies in Greek Tragedy* (G. Fraccaroli).

P. 457. Notice of the death of Professor Giuseppe Frac-caroli of the University of Pavia, September 22, 1918.

Pp. 458-464. Reports of philological journals, list of new books received.

W. P. MUSTARD.

HERMES L (1915).

Die römischen Staatspriestertümer altlatinischer Gemeinde-kulte (1-33). Georg Wissowa discusses the Sacerdotes Tusculani etc. in opposition to A. Rosenberg (cf. A. J. P. XXXIX 327).

Lesbische Bauinschrift (IG XII 2, 11)' (34-46). O. Viede-bantt follows Lattermann in connecting this inscription with the large temple of Messa, excavated by R. Koldewey (cf. Die antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos, Berlin, 1890).

Eine Gerichtsverhandlung vor Kaiser Traian (47-92). W. Weber discusses Pap. Oxy. 1242 (X 112 sqq.), which tells how Trajan favored an embassy of Alexandrian Jews.

Die Irrfahrten des Odysseus (93-112). W. Kranz sees the routes of the early Ionian merchantmen reflected in the Odyssey.

Das sogenannte IV. Buch der Meteorologie des Aristoteles (113-136). I. Hammer-Jensen regards this work as a text-book on chemistry by Strato.

Poseidonios und Vergils vierte Ekloge (137-143). J. Kroll rejects Geffcken's conclusions (cf. A. J. P. XXXIX 424).

Eine Demokritspur bei Xenophon (144-150). K. Praechter traces Xen. Oec. 19, 18 f. to Democritus (cf. T. A. P. A. XLII 123-130).

Miscellen:—E. Meyer (151-154) argues that the campus Rediculi had nothing to do with Hannibal's march against Rome; but the god Tutanus may have protected the city on that occasion.—O. Kern (154-158) shows that *οικοφύλαξι* instead of *οινοφύλαξι* must be read in No. 33 e of the Delphinion inscriptions of Miletus.—E. Sittig (158-159) calls attention to a *Zeus 'Ορο-μπάρας* in a Cyprian inscription; it is a collateral form of *'Ορειβάτης*.—C. Robert (159-160) identifies the Autolycus that is honored with a statue by Leochares (cf. Pliny XXXIV 78), with the Areopagite.

Die politische und sociale Struktur der Griechencolonien am Nordufer des Schwarzmeergebietes, by E. von Stern (161-224).

Per l'interpretazione del testo etrusco di Agram. III., by E. Lattes (225-246) (cf. A. J. P. XXXIX 328).

Ein keltiberischer Städtebund (247-260). A. Schulten discusses an Iberian inscription found in Spain some forty years ago.

Literarhistorische Beiträge (261-270). W. A. Baehrens 1) objects to Dessau's thesis that Vergil invented the Dido romance (cf. A. J. P. XXXIX 426), and maintains 2) that the Probus epigram has nothing to do with Nepos (cf. Schanz, Röm. Lit.² I 2, p. 153).

Rhodische Urvölker (271-303). Chr. Blinkenberg finds the earliest literary evidence with reference to Rhodes in Iliad B (cf. A. J. P. XXXVIII 216). Τελχίγες were the Rhodian metal-worker daemons; they were confused with the Cretan Dactyli.

Horaz C. I 18 (304-311). G. Pasquali shows how this ode was influenced by Ennius.

Miscellen:—E. Schwartz (312-315) emends Menand. Epitr. 512-519.—O. Weinreich (315-6) shows that the contrast of color in the poetical *altercationes* of the middle ages was anticipated in Vespa's *judicium coci et pistoris*.—F. Bechtel (317-318) interprets Δαῖσος (BCH XXII 254, 11) as from Δαί-σοφος; Διο-κρένι(ς) (l. c. No. 12) as Διο-κρίνης; and emends BCH XXIII 198 Χρονσιλάω to Ἐρονσιλάω.—Fr. H. von Gaertringen defends οἰνοφύλακες against Kern's emendation (cf. Misc. above).—R. Herzog (319-320) regards Δισολύμπιος Θεογένευσ (IG. XII 8, 278 C 31) as a son of the famous athlete of Thasos (cf. Pomtow, Delphica II, BphW 1909, 252 f. and 765 f.). F. Bechtel (320) emends Δαόνυτος in schol. to Eur. Phoin. 53 to Δαόλυτος.

Seneca und Epikur (321-356). H. Mutschmann discusses the influence of Epicurus on Seneca.

Polybios' Quellen im dritten Buche, by K. J. Beloch (357-373).

Zur Zeitbestimmung des Antiatticista (373-394). K. Latte assigns this work to the second century A. D., to the time of Phrynichus.

Die Nobilität der Kaiserzeit (395-415). M. Gelzer cites passages to corroborate Pliny's view (cf. his panegyric on Trajan 69, 4 ff.) that nobilitas was equivalent to *ingentium virorum nepotes, posterii libertatis*, and traces the gradual extinction of the old nobility.

Zu den altlatinischen Priestertümern (416-426). A. Rosenberg writes a rejoinder to Wissowa's article reported above.

Ptolemaios "der Sohn" Πτολεμαῖος Βασιλέως Λυσιμάχων und Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχων (427-444). E. von Stern argues that the former, the son of king Lysimachus, was coregent of Ptol. Philad.; the second, the son of Lysimachos and grandson of Ptolemy Philad., was made ruler of Telmessos 240 B. C.

Zur Textkritik der Dionysiaka des Nonnos, by H. Tiedke (445-455).

Literarhistorische Beiträge (456-463). W. A. Baehrens dates the dialogue of Minucius Felix at 160-163 A. D. This date explains the omission of Favorinus' name, whose views are combatted.

Miscellen:—B. Keil (464-468) emends the Egyptian epigram published by Brescia in *Iscrizioni Gr. e Lat.* (Kairo 1911) n. 316.—E. Pfuhl (468-470) interprets the white arm with lance on the vase representing the murder of Ismene by Tydeus, as belonging to Athena not Periklymenus (cf. Robert, *Oedipus* I, 121 ff.).—Fr. Hiller von Gaertringen (470-473) discusses the λίθος τρικάρανος of the scholion to Soph. *Oed. Col.* v. 57.—R. Reitzenstein (474-475) emends Propertius IV 1, 101.—Th. Zachariae (475-480) shows the oriental origin of the riddle in Sophocles' Καμίκιοι.

Zu den Quellen der vierten und fünften Dekade des Livius, by A. Klotz (481-536).

Eine stilgeschichtliche Studie zum Philipperbrief (537-553). W. W. Jaeger interprets Phil. 2, 6 οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν κτλ. to mean οὐχ ἄρπαγμα τύχης, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς ἄθλον.

Kleomenes III. und Archidamos (554-571). E. von Stern defends Plutarch's account of the assassination of A. (Cleomenes ch. 5), and explains the passivity of Cleomenes as due to policy.

Das Genesiscitat in der Schrift *περὶ ὕψους* (572-603). K. Ziegler rejects the citation from Genesis in *περὶ ὕψους* IX 9 as an interpolation.

Zu Heraklit Fragm. 26 (Diels) (604-625). O. Leuze interprets this passage as an expression of faith in a life after death.

Miscellen:—K. Praechter (626-629) emends Stobaeus Floril. 115, 27 (26 Mein.).—P. Stengel (630-635) discusses the libations of water at tombs, under the headings *λουτρά* and *χέρνιβες*, which were not to serve the departed for baths.—Br. Keil identifies the Caparon and Proxenus of the inscription in *Notizie d. Sc. suppl.* 1913, pp. 3 sq. with the Locrians in Thuc. III 103, 3.

HERMAN L. EBELING.

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BRIEF MENTION.

'History repeats itself' and 'history never repeats itself' are alike true and alike false. History is a poor teacher, and its lessons are mostly futile; and yet, in the last *Brief Mention*, I undertook to apply the story of the Civil War to the questions of to-day. Historical parallels are often absurdly askew, as I have urged repeatedly, in season and out of season, in the *Journal* and outside of it; and yet, some months ago, I was tempted to institute a comparison between the history of Ægina and the history of the United States, as will appear from the following extract from 'America in the War', which I reproduce, with an illustrative vignette, by the kind permission of the Century Company, to whom I furnished the text of Raemaekers' cartoon entitled 'Justice'. It must be considered nothing more serious than a tribute to the modernity of Pindar, who could supply headings for every phase of the great conflict, as he has done in the opening of the Eighth Olympian for one of the burning questions of our day.

JUSTICE!



"The woman figure called Justice in Raemaekers' cartoon has a Greek name. She is Themis, consort of Zeus, Themis who sits by his side on the judgement seat. The scales are the scales of Ægina, in her day a great money centre, whose talent was the standard of value then, as the American dollar is today. Ægina was the mother of Æacus, one of the three great judges of the lower world, and be it remembered, it was Æacus that administered justice. Ægina is called by one of the greatest Greek

poets the place where Themis is worshipped more than anywhere else on earth, and he tells us further that there was

much weighing in Ægina, the Merchant State. Heavy weights there were in either scale. Much care was needful in the weighing, no little balancing doubtless. So there were many in our Ægina who felt the draw of kindred, of friendship, of fellowship. But this is the Day, the Day of Decision, the Day of Lord Æacus. After the knife-edge of the balance comes the knife-edge of the guillotine."

Touching the Eighth Olympian I have said more than once, "Pindar knew Aigina well, and the universal of the Aiginetan odes is often so pegged in the knotty entrails of the particular that it is hard to set it free", and not a few lovers of Pindar have attempted to liberate the Ariel of the Eighth Olympian. The latest comer is Mr. WHITMORE, who, in the October number of the *North Carolina University Studies in Philology*, has essayed the task of mediating the transition from the myth of Aiakos to the laudation of Melesias—fortified, as he says, by the progress of Pindaric study during the last twenty years. But cut off, as I am, from the bulk of my Pindaric apparatus, I must content myself with summarizing Mr. WHITMORE's article with such intercalary reflexions as would naturally occur to an old student of Pindar.

The first question that arises is the time and place at which the ode was sung. Boeckh, followed by the majority of interpreters, makes Olympia the place, the time immediately after the victory; and the hurried preparation has been urged as an excuse for the lack of articulation, for what some would even call the ineptness of the insertion. Mr. WHITMORE argues at length for Aigina and a longer interval, but as he has solved the problem of the transition to his own satisfaction, that point does not seem to him of vital importance.

The story of Aiakos and the Aiakidai was a matter of obligation for the composer of an Aiginetan ode, and the myth of the Eighth Olympian deals with Aiakos as the fellow-worker with Apollo and Poseidon in the building of Troy. The task accomplished, Aiakos had the signal honour of being brought home to Aigina in the chariot of Poseidon; and when Bornemann, with the familiar Teutonic sneer, asked how my note on v. 51, 'δεῦρ(ο): To Aegina', harmonized with my acceptance of the earlier date, he simply showed that he had not read Boeckh's explanation. To be sure, I ought to have been more explicit.

The myth of Aiakos is followed by a sentiment on which the transition is supposed to hinge: *τερπνὸν δ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἴσον ἔσσεται οὐδέν*. My interpretation has not satisfied Mr. WHITMORE. And no wonder. It has not satisfied me, as will presently appear.

'The contrast', I wrote, 'is between the life of the gods and the life of men. Apollo is happy in three places, Poseidon in two. But human beings are not equally happy everywhere. Timosthenes was victorious at Nemea, Alkimedon at Olympia. An Athenian would not be at home in Aigina, nor an Aiginetan at Athens. This commonplace prepares, after a fashion, the way for the inevitable mention of Melesias'.

This is the way in which the problem presents itself to Mr. WHITMORE'S mind:

'<The honor done to Aeacus was an exceptional honor>; often, when the gods took a mortal into their company, he remained there. <After citing the example of Ganymede, he goes on to say that Aeacus was indeed> favored beyond the common lot of mortals; but his good fortune could not be lasting, and Pindar adds the general observation, "Nothing among men remains equally (that is, uniformly) joyful". From this generality he passes to a more personal utterance: "But if I have traversed in song the glory that Melesias has won through his pupils, let not envy smite me with a jagged stone"; that is to say, let not my pleasure on the present occasion be imperilled by my praise of Melesias, which I will continue by mentioning victories won by yet another of his pupils, Timosthenes'.

True, Pindar is not disinclined to moralize on the changing fortunes of human life *ἄλλοι' ἄλλοιαι διαθύσσοισιν αἰεταί* (O. 7. 95), whether he is dealing with mythical heroes or with the victors in the games. Citations are needless. Nor is he averse from telling of the errors, the blunders, the failures, that mar the careers of those who figure in his songs. The Seventh Olympian will serve *instar omnium*. But in the Eighth Olympian there is no intimation that there was any drawback to the felicity of Aiakos. According to Mr. WHITMORE, as we have seen, Aiakos, as a fellow-worker of the gods, ought to have shared the fortune of Ganymede. One cannot help thinking that it would have seemed better to him to <judge> in hell than serve in heaven. Vergil's "his dantem iura Ca-tonem" might have been suggested by what Pindar says of Aiakos, *δαιμόνεσσι δίκας ἐπείραψε* (I. 8. 24). A far more simple way is the way of contrast, not of coincidence. From the First Olympian on, Pindar dwells on the contrast between the *ἀνθρωποι παῖδες θεῶν* and the too vulnerable sons of men. The opening of the Sixth Nemean—a Melesias ode—is a classic passage. True, Aiakos was not a god, but he was *κεδνότητος ἐπιχθονίων*, and his good fortune will never be paralleled. Taking *ἴσον* in its prevalent sense of 'equal', we learn that there is no pleasure, no transient pleasure (cf. O. 14. 5), in mortal life that will ever match the good fortune of Aiakos. No such lot

is that of Pindar. A god may be ἀπήμων κέαρ (P. 10, 22), not the singer who has to face the invidious task of praising an Athenian trainer who bore a familiar Athenian name. As compared with the unbroken felicity of Aiakos, or even with the mingled yarn of the average human life, Pindar's lot as an epinikian poet was not a happy one. In his profession, as in the days of Hesiod, the twin demons, Kotos and Phthonos, were rampant, and, being one of the 'irritable genus', Pindar was peculiarly sensitive to criticism. In every Greek community whose sons it was his part to praise, the same twin demons shewed their malignant faces. It is not without significance that Pindar throws into sharp relief the story of Aias and Odysseus (N. 7 and 8), and he was not slow to encounter his own detractors or those who assailed his victors. He was ready to shoot arrow for arrow, to give blow for blow, and he was, as was Melesias, συμπεσεῖν δ' ἀκμῇ βαρύς. But he was also a master of the art of 'turning the fair side outward'. He was not above soothing the susceptibilities of such good friends and wealthy clients as the Aiginetans. The Aiginetans had quick ears and retentive memories, and if he had uttered aught that reflected upon a great Aiakid like Neoptolemos, he did not fail to make amends to the ruffled Aiginetans (N. 7).

But Mr. WHITMORE has enhanced the embarrassment of Pindar's position by the acceptance of Mr. Paton's notion that Timosthenes was jealous of the success of his younger brother Alkimedon. True, this victory is the only Olympian victory credited to an Aiginetan, though the Aiginetan odes make up a fourth of the epinikia, and in like manner there is only one Pythian victory gained by an Aiginetan. The Aiginetan victories seem limited to a narrow circle. But Timosthenes as the elder brother doubtless footed the bill and as the head of his clan took pride in the Olympian victory. It is sheer guesswork to ascribe to Timosthenes the victories recorded in the latter part of the poem. Other commentators with equal right, or equal wrong, ascribe them to Melesias—himself a famous athlete and therefore especially qualified to act as a trainer. He had been the trainer of Timosthenes, and Timosthenes may have insisted on the tribute to his old master.

The Aiginetans were evidently full fed with the Athenian Melesias, and Mr. WHITMORE may be right in his interpretation of ἀνέδραμον θυμῷ (v. 54), as a reference to P.'s previous

laudations of Melesias, who figures so largely in the Sixth Nemean, which winds up with the words: *δελφίνι κεν | τάχος δι' ἄλμας | ἴσον εἵποιμι Μελησίαν, | χειρῶν τε καὶ ἰσχύος ἀνίοχον*. But what was Pindar to do? In the majority of the boy odes the trainer is mentioned by name. It was a familiar courtesy, if not exactly a *τεθμός*. O. 10. 16 Ilas is to the victor as Patroklos to Achilles. N. 5. 49, an Aiginetan ode, Menander is cited, and as the relations between Athens and Aigina were not so strained at that time Pindar says: *χρὴ δ' ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν τέκτον' ἀθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν*, a verse I am fond of citing when I urge the importance of a thorough training in Attic for those who undertake to wrestle with the Greek language. Add to this the three mentions of Melesias. The omissions may be accounted for. O. 11 is a very short ode and Ilas had been paid off in O. 10. In P. 11 those who believe in the prefigurement theory of the myth may see in Pylades and Orestes (v. 16) the types of trainer and trained. In N. 7 Pindar was too busy with Neoptolemos to think of anything else, and N. 8, at least according to Wilamowitz, he had eyes for no one but Deinias with whom he was hopelessly in love. But I must not expose myself to the critics of overstrained Pindaric exegesis. The subordination of the victor in the boy odes is at any rate an instance of the stress the Greeks laid on *σωφροσύνη*.

The latest commentary on O. 8 that I have seen is that of Cerrato, who translates the pivotal verse 'Nulla vi sarà mai, che a tutti gli uomini egualmente piaccia', and among all the various explanations favours the one given many years ago by Heyne: *viam sibi parat ad laudem Melesiae aliptae; in qua interserenda invidiam deprecatur*. 'You can't please everybody'; and 'You can't please everybody' is the upshot of Mr. WHITMORE's exegesis—as it is the upshot of this *Brief Mention*.

Poor old Heyne! As an ancient Göttinger I have a kindly feeling toward the scholar who was once the pride and boast of the Georgia Augusta; for Göttingen will never be to me what it was to Ernst August—'ein verflucht' Nest'. Poor old Heyne, overpraised in the beginning, underrated by a cabal of enemies in his latter days, he was after all a man. '<Heyne>', says Carlyle, 'is not less interesting for what he did than for what he was', and mindful of my own blunders I am fain to adopt his epitaph: *Vixi et quem cursum dederat Fortuna peregi*. It was pointed out by one of Wolf's accomplices that Heyne inflected the Greek imperative after the high Roman fashion, but some years ago I found that Wolf, or was it Wolf's editor? bestowed upon *νίξω* the aor. inf. *νίσαι*. At all events neither

Heyne nor Wolf seems to have mixed up his genders as some of the 'meri principes' have done and even in the matter of the inflexion of the Greek verb the leaders of philological studies in Germany have not all been guiltless. For proof-texts see the thirty-nine volumes of the Journal. I am not going to disfigure this page by the ugly parentheses against which one of my critics has vigorously protested.

Turning over the pages of my Rabelais the other day I was surprised to find that he had attributed to 'Octavien' the famous doctrine of Julius Caesar in his *Analogia* in which he warns against an 'inauditum atque insolens vocabulum' 'tamquam scopulum'. To be sure I was inclined to pardon the false attribution because he used 'Octavianus' instead of 'Augustus', a bit of sacrilegious snobbery against which my soul has always revolted. But unfortunately Rabelais' slip called up sundry slips of my own as when not so long ago I paralleled the nodding of Father Homer in the matter of Nestor with the yawn of an M. P. over his own maiden speech, a yawn that elicited an ironical compliment from Disraeli. It is a familiar story but by a strange lapse I wrote 'Salisbury' instead of 'Hartington' (A. J. P. XXXV 113). True, there are other and perhaps worse slips, and I am prompted to record this one because of my delight in the brilliant appreciation of that dull statesman by Lytton Strachey in his *Eminent Victorians* (pp. 322 foll.). Such false ascriptions are very common and may give rise to learned discussions. Pindar ascribes the rescue of Nestor to his son Antilochos (P. 6. 28), whereas Homer credits it to Diomed. Was this a lapse on the part of Pindar or a designed antagonism? But Pindar always reminds me of something, and I find that Landor's criticism of Pindar's plethora of gold ought not to have been charged against Aspasia's correspondent but Aspasia herself (A. J. P. XXXIX 431).

Mr. CUDWORTH'S *Odes of Horace Englished into Rimed Verse Corresponding to the Original Metres* calls up again the old question as to the relation between matter and form in the original poem. The new translator follows Mr. Conington's dictum that all Alcaics are to be rendered in the same metre, all Sapphics likewise in the same metre, and so throughout. Mr. Gladstone protested against the rule, and cited as a cogent proof the first *seven* odes of the Third Book. Others uphold it, and Professor Shorey says that the unity of the first *six* odes was

recognized by Porphyrio—'an ode sequence whose unity, like that of the sonnet sequences of modern poetry, depends on identity of metre and general similarity of moral purpose and aesthetic effect subsisting amid much diversity of detail'. It may be observed that Mr. Gladstone speaks of the first *seven* odes, and assuredly the seventh does not harmonize with the theory as to the compelling character of the Alcaic metre. As to Mr. CUDWORTH's choice of corresponding metres—it is impossible for me to see anything convincing in his selection. But the whole matter has been discussed over and over again in various *Brief Mentions*—the latest being A. J. P. XXXVII 235, where the reader will find other references. Of the translation itself, which is not a metempsychosis, there is no space for a detailed criticism.

D. M. R.: In 1917 the AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME issued the first volume of *Memoirs* (Bergamo, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche), a continuation of two volumes of Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies. It is thoroughly Italian in appearance. The print is good and suggests the Roman styles of the Renaissance. The titles of the papers by former and present members of the Academy are as follows: The reorganization of the Roman priesthoods at the beginning of the Republic; The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours; The Aqua Traiana and the mills on the Janiculum; Ancient granulated jewelry of the VIIth century B. C. and earlier; Bartolomeo Caporali; Capita Desecta and marble coiffures; and the military indebtedness of early Rome to Etruria. The frontispiece is a beautiful reproduction of a statue found in 1901 on the site of the Gardens of Sallust, which has been loaned by Mrs. Gardner to the Academy. The first paper is the last published article of Director CARTER, who died last year while engaged in a Red Cross Mission to the Italian front, and who had already made many important contributions to the study of Roman Religion. The second paper is a learned palaeographical study in which Professors RAND and HOWE differ from Shipley and maintain that the Reginensis (762) manuscript of Livy represents only an early stage of the Tours script. The third article is a scholarly study of remains found on the site of the Academy, by VAN BUREN and STEVENS. The study of Granulated Jewelry by CURTIS is in continuation of his previous work in this line and is a valuable contribution. The study of the neglected Bartolomeo Caporali is exhaustive, original, and abundantly illustrated. The essay on Capita Desecta revives an old subject and rejects the theories of Heuzey, Reinach, Bernoulli and

Gauckler, and concludes that Greek and Roman sculptors were more ready than we have been willing to admit to employ more than a single block in the making of a marble head. Mr. CRAWFORD might have referred to the fact that heads have been found in Egypt with a separate piece for the coiffure (cf. Breasted in *Art and Archaeology*, IV, 1916, p. 239). McCARTNEY in his article shows that in weapons and methods of warfare Rome was completely subject to Etruria. In the discussion of the helmet, a reference to the article of Schröder in *Jahrbuch des d. arch. Inst.* XXVII, 1912, pp. 317 f. is lacking, and for the chariot refer also to Mercklin, *Der Rennwagen in Griechenland*, Leipzig, 1909. The idea of standards is Macedonian and Hellenistic as well as Asiatic, and to say that all agree in ascribing the trumpet to the Etruscans is hardly correct as it occurs on a sixth century Greek vase of Amasis and other Greek vases such as Baumeister's *Bilder* no. 258, and also on Greek coins showing the victory of Samothrace.

W. P. M.: *Horace in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century*. By CAROLINE GOAD. Yale Studies in English, No. 58. 1918. 641 pp. \$3.00 net. This is a careful study of the use of Horace by the great English writers of the eighteenth century. A long appendix (pp. 291-620) gives all the allusions to, and quotations of, Horace in the works of the authors considered. The book is well written, and there is an excellent index. The author finds that in the eighteenth century "Horace was the most frequently quoted and deferred to of any classic author"; also, that there was a noticeable tendency to use the Satires and Epistles more than the Odes. It is interesting to read that both Pope and Johnson could speak of '*disiecta membra poetarum*', and that Johnson could make Horace say '*inter stellas Luna minores*'. On p. 487 there is a quotation from Fielding, 'that *ingens solitudo* complained of by Horace', with the note that there is no such expression as *ingens solitudo* in Horace. It might have been added that the expression comes from Martial, iii. 44, 3, '*quacumque venis, fuga est et ingens | circa te, Ligurine, solitudo*'. In the quotation on p. 19, '*Stultum*' should be '*Stultorum*'.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH

Dec. 6, 1862—Dec. 6, 1918

ΟΛΒΙΟΞ ΕΝ ΚΑΜΑΤΟΙΞ ΟΛΒΙΟΞ ΕΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΩΙ

In the last number of the *American Journal of Philology* there was neither time nor space for more than a brief announcement of the sudden death of KIRBY FLOWER SMITH, Professor of Latin in the Johns Hopkins University, and one of the stays of the Journal. In any case the poignant grief at the loss of the man would not suffer those whose work lay nearest to his to attempt an estimate of what he had wrought as teacher, scholar, author. Since then friends and admirers have vied with one another in telling of his splendid achievements in the cause of classical learning, so that I, to whom he was very near and very dear, am left to bring this belated tribute to his memory.

A part of the Johns Hopkins from its earliest days, it has been my lot to do honour to many of those who have been summoned from the service of the University to life in another world than ours. It is a long procession that passes through the lych-gate of my memory—president, trustee, colleague, pupil. But the death of none of those fellow-workers has made me feel so inly a touch of grief as the withdrawal of one who called me not only teacher and friend but foster-father.

To use the words of a master poet, 'He stood beside me like my youth'; and to me he was always young. Counting by years, he was not young at the time of his departure; for he had rounded his fifty-sixth year, and had fulfilled the ideal of a man of letters, as set forth by a man of letters. He had completed one monumental work, and given to the world sundry episodes.¹ Fifty-six is an age before which many

¹The *Elegies of Albius Tibullus*; edited with Introduction and Notes (New York, 1913); *Archaisms of Terence* mentioned in the Commentary of Donatus (J. H. U. Diss., 1890); *An Historical Study of the Werwolf in Literature* (Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc., 1894); *On a Legend of the Alban Lake told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (A. J. P. XVI); *Some Irregular Forms of the Elegiac Distich* (A. J. P. XVI); *The Tale of Gyges and the King of Lydia* (A. J. P. XXIII); *Pupula*

scholars have wrought immortal things. Fifty-six was the age of the Elder Pliny when he died, and what his nephew ascribed to his uncle might well be ascribed to my foster-son, 'acre ingenium, incredibile studium, summa vigilantia'. But with all this alert and penetrating intellect, this surpassing enthusiasm, this wide and quick vision, KIRBY SMITH's outstanding trait was his indomitable youthfulness of spirit. In one of his latest papers he himself has recognized this among his striking characteristics—recognized it with that delightful candour which breathes through all his writings. I have sometimes thought that this youthful elasticity may have wrought him injustice. He moved with so quick and springy a step through so vast a domain of literature that those who cannot think of learning without pedantry were puzzled by his easy command of wide stretches not only of his own special field but of English, French, and Italian literature. And what he learned he reproduced with a facile, graceful, humorous touch which lighted up every theme that he handled. Nor did he limit his range to the sphere of literature. He was a close observer of social life, and antiquity lived again in him. And with all this he did not disdain the severe study of grammar, and the collection of arid statistics—not arid with him—was carried out with a painstaking exactness that would have done credit to those who have no other claim than exactness.

In the tablet prefixed to this halting tribute to one who for more than thirty years shared my life of study I have quoted from a late anthologist the words *δλβιος ἐν καμάτοις, δλβιος ἐν θανάτῳ*. *Ὀλβιος ἐν καμάτοις*, 'fortunate in his labours', emphasises his unremitting toil, his 'incredible studium'; *δλβιος ἐν θανάτῳ*, 'fortunate in his death', is the unaffected utterance of one who has learned through suffering to envy those who have obtained their discharge before the last stage of all has brought with it decreasing vigour of performance and ever increasing sense of loneliness.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

Duplex (Studies in Honor of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, 1902); The Influence of Art upon Certain Traditional Passages in the Epic Poetry of Statius (Amer. Journ. Archaeol. 1903); Review of Zielinski's *Clausesgesetz* in Ciceros Reden (A. J. P. 1904); The Sources of Ben Jonson's 'Still to be Neat' (A. J. P. XXIX); The Ages of Man, Greek and Roman Magic, The Roman Drama, Hecate's Suppers (Encycl. of Religion and Ethics, Edinburgh, 1908 ff.); Propertius: A Modern Lover in the Augustan Age (Sewanee Review, 1917); Martial: the Epigrammatist (Sewanee Review, 1918); The Poet Ovid (Univ. of N. C. Studies in Philol. 1918); etc., etc.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To return to the theme of definition (see *Brief Mention* in vol. 36, 242) I offer the following criticism of Walde's lexicon. In IF. 26, 35 I had explained *vērātrum*, the Latin name of the hellebore, as a complex of a neuter nominative *vēr[d]* (: IE. *wyrd* in Gothic *waurts*; cf. *vrād-* in Lat. *rādx*) + *ātrum* (black), and not without mention of the Greek name *μελαμπόδιον*. All of this is magnificently disposed of by Walde (s. v.) in the sweeping word *falsch*. Indeed! Yet I did cite *μελαμπόδιον*, without taking the trouble (alas!) to demonstrate that *μελαμπόδιον* meant blackroot. Whoever doubts the metaphor (root = foot) should consider Latin *pedes betacei* (=beetroots); and we can find an excellent illustration of the characteristic black root-stock (rhizome, pedicule) of the hellebore in the Encyclopedia Britannica. Since writing first on *veratrum* I have found in Cato (r. r. 115) that the plant, with a fine tautology avoided in Pliny (n. h. 15, 47 sq.), was expressly called *veratrum atrum*. For the postponement of the adjective in the complex further cf. Lat. *holusātrum* and French *pi-veri*. Noun complexes of a like sort are found in Spanish *avestruz* (i. e., *avis struthio*) and in Greek *μυγαλή* (mouse-weasel, i. e. shrew mouse). In English *smallage* we have a plant name, the complex of adj. *small* and French *ache* (= Lat. *apium*). To the entirely simple and direct analysis of *ver-atrum* as blackroot, Walde opposes the definition <herba per sternutationem> verum (i. e., bonum omen!) faciens, and makes it an instrument noun to *verare* (to speak the truth). In *vēr[d]atrum d* may be dispensed with altogether in favor of *wēr* from a root *wer* (to twist, in Lat. *ver-t-o*), extended in Lat. *rādx* to *wrād* (not from *wer*, to raise oneself, pace Boisacq, p. 832). Pliny's Melampus is a mere aetiology to account for *melampodion*.

E. W. FAY.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-155 W. 25th St., New York, for material furnished.

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WHOLE No. 158.

I.—THE CENTENARY OF *DON JUAN*.

"As to the estimation of the English which you talk of, let them calculate what it is worth, before they insult me with their insolent condescension. I have not written for their pleasure. If they are pleased, it is that they chose to be so; I have never flattered their opinions, nor their pride; nor will I. . . . I have written from the fulness of my mind, from passion, from impulse, from many motives, but not for their 'sweet voices'."—BYRON TO JOHN MURRAY, 1819.

Just one hundred years ago, on July 15, 1819, there was published one of the most successful and certainly the most abused of all great English poems. Few books have had a stranger history. When the manuscript of the first two cantos arrived in London a group of Byron's friends assembled in conclave at John Murray's office, and after examining the poem were unanimous in advising its suppression. Murray sent word of the verdict to Byron who, oddly enough, at first seemed to acquiesce, but presently, as opposition stirred up resentment in him, decided that fifty copies should be privately printed, and then within a few weeks determined to publish his work. In the end he was proof against even such tactful pleading as Hobhouse's ("*Carissimo*, do review the whole scene, and think what you would say of it as written by another"); and he consented only to the suppression of the anonymous dedication to Southey, certain anonymous stanzas upon Castlereagh, and one "damn." His ire was extreme when, in the published form, he found in the place of four stanzas or parts of stanzas rows of asterisks.

Previous to its appearance the newspapers carried for several days the mysterious and arresting advertisement: "In

a few days—DON JUAN." It came into the world unacknowledged by its father. John Murray, "the most timorous of God's booksellers," brought it shamefastly before the British public, a burly bastard in large quarto, dignified with all the adornments of large print and broad margins, yet finding a foster-mother only in Thomas Davison, the printer, who was prosecuted for his pains. The bar sinister upon its escutcheon was an invitation to publishers of low repute, like the notorious Bembow "at the Lord Byron's Head," to issue pirated editions.¹ Not until it was evident that his offspring was making its way in the world did its father do the honorable thing and recognize it. Then it appeared among the "Works of Lord Byron."

It is unfortunate for the good name of Don Juan that Canto One is the first canto, for many people know the poem merely from the opening episode—witty, sprightly, entertaining, vulgar. Moreover, the reviewers of 1819 had not the advantage we possess of being able to set the incident of Donna Julia's bedroom and the seemingly heartless narrative of the shipwreck in the total context, thus reducing these scenes to natural proportion in relation to the whole survey of life.

"You will certainly be damned for this," Hobhouse, to whom it was submitted, wrote on the manuscript. The process of damnation began betimes. In a famous passage comparing himself to Napoleon Byron admits that "Juan was my Moscow." He did not retreat, but in 1819 he faced a strong coalition. As in the case of the domestic scandal of 1816, there is some evidence of division along the lines of political opinion, the more liberal journals venturing to support Byron; but at first the hostility was almost unanimous. The Edinburgh Review preserved a stony silence; Gifford, in the Quarterly, could not well condemn the poem, since his review was published by Murray. Therefore he, too, was silent. The journalistic small fry were one voice in condemnation; and the attack was led by Blackwood's Magazine for August 1819 in some lengthy "Remarks on Don Juan" (p. 512 f.). "Maga" admits that Byron "has never written anything more . . . triumphantly expres-

¹ See E. H. Coleridge's bibliography in *Byron's Works*, Poetry, vii, 209 f.

sive of the greatness of his genius"; "our indignation, in regard to the morality of the poem, has not blinded us to its manifold beauties." But the assertion is made that "a more thorough and intense infusion of genius and vice—power and profligacy" there has never been than Don Juan. "Impiously railing against his God—madly and meanly disloyal to his Sovereign and his country—and brutally outraging all the best feelings of family honour, affection, and confidence," "it appears . . . as if this miserable man . . . were resolved to show us that he is no longer a human being, even in his frailties;—but a cool unconcerned fiend." To have "a calm careless ferociousness of contented and satisfied depravity . . . this atrocious consummation was reserved for Byron." These be strong words; they drew from Byron that "Reply to Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine" which he addressed to Isaac D'Israeli but which was not published till after Byron's death. In the following November, being in better humour, "Maga" printed some verses called "Don Juan Unread" (p. 194 f.), an amusing parody on Yarrow Unvisited, of which one stanza will serve as a sample:

" 'O! rich,' said I, 'are Juan's rhymes,
And warm its verse is flowing!
Fair crops of blasphemy it bears,
But we will leave them growing.
In Pindar's strain, in prose of Paine,
And many another Zanny,
As gross we read, so where's the need,
To wade through Don Giovanni?'"

Blackwood's review of the next instalment of Byron's poem was more favorable (August 1821, p. 107 f.) and indeed the great torrent of British resentment was poured out upon the first two cantos. But by April 1822 John Wilson and his colleagues were again hard upon the "noble poet" in a "Letter from Paddy" (p. 461 f.) which berated Byron severely at the same time that it took a fall out of Robert Southey who had recently "branded" his opponent as the leader of the "Satanic School" of poetry. For "Satanic" Paddy suggests the substitution of the word "Calibanic." The various notices in Blackwood's are cleverer than, but typical of, the comments that Don Juan inspired among the journals of the period.

Throughout his career pamphleteers followed Byron as jackals trail after a wounded lion. Don Juan gave them occasion for hounding him anew. First came Remarks, Critical and Moral, on the Talents of Byron, and the Tendencies of Don Juan. By the Author of Hypocrisy, a Satire. London (various booksellers), 1819. The author of this anonymous piece was C. C. Colton, one of the minor victims (as some of my readers may chance to remember) pilloried in the *Noctes Ambrosianae*. Colton's hostility to Byron is not unmitigated; the fourth canto of *Childe Harold*, for example, he considers "*the sublimest achievement of mortal pen*" (his italics). But he holds that the beauties of Don Juan do not atone for its evil character. "Alas! the poison is general, the antidote particular." "Byron might have been not only the best, but the greatest poet of past or present times, with the exception of Shakespeare alone; he has chosen to be the most mischievous and dangerous without any exception." "We envy him not the fiend-like satisfaction of shining, only to mislead." He especially attacks the Donna Julia episode, the blasphemy of the poetical commandments, and the heartlessness of the narrative of the shipwreck. He considers that the most charitable view to take is that the poet is not in earnest, lack of sincerity in this case being a virtue. Don Juan is "a bold experiment, made by a daring and determined hand, on the moral patience of the public."

A diatribe of a different sort is Don Juan: with a Biographical Account of Lord Byron and his Family; Anecdotes of his Lordship's Travels in Greece, at Geneva, etc., including also a Sketch of the Vampire Family. . . . Canto III. London: William Wright, 1819. This is a poem in 144 stanzas in *ottava rima*, but despite the fact that it is labeled "Canto III" it is not properly to be grouped among the continuations of Byron's poem. It is a grossly false and hostile review of Byron's life, pretending to come from Byron himself, who leaves Juan slumbering in the arms of the frail Haidée and now "draws from himself." Byron is called variously "Lord Harold," "Lord Beppo," and "Lord Squander." The story of his career includes a hateful reference to his lameness—"Our hero's foot was round as any bowl"; a fantastic account of his love-affair with "a fisher's or a corsair's daughter" whom he met in Greece, roamed round with, had a child by, and then abandoned

(this yarn recurs repeatedly in early Byroniana) ; and a bitterly hostile narrative of his marriage and separation. Then follows the departure from England and sojourn in France in the account of which references to Byron's praise of Napoleon illustrate the Tory political *animus* of many of the attacks upon the poet. The most interesting portion of the piece is the account of the group of expatriated Englishmen at Geneva who numbered among them the greatest of English lyric poets. A side-light upon contemporary opinion of Shelley is thrown by the following lines :

"In rival conclave there and deep divan
He met and mingled with the Vampyre crew
Who hate the virtues and the form of man,
And strive to bring fresh monsters into view ;
Who mock the inscrutable Almighty's plan
By seeking truth and order to subdue—
Scribblers, who fright the novel-reading train
With mad creations of th' unsettled brain.

There Frankenstein was hatched—the wretch abhorred,
Whom shuddering Sh——y saw in horrid dream
Plying his task where human bones are stored,
And there the Vampyre quaffed the living stream
From beauty's veins—such sights could joy afford
To this strange coterie, glorying in each theme,
That wakes disgust in other minds—Lord Harold
Sung wildly too, but none knew what he carolled."

The poem ends with a threat to "Lord Beppo" that should he not mend his morality another canto shall scourge the wretch "who toils for vice and spreads corruption wide."

Another attack was prompted by very definite *animus*. William Hone, a London publisher, was a rather remarkable man who has an honourable place in the history of the long fight for a free press. It was he who, by the piratical publication of Wat Tyler, a drama of Southey's anti-monarchical youth, had put the poet-laureate into an awkward position. In 1816 he was one of several publishers who pirated Byron's Poems on his Domestic Circumstances. He had also published Conrad, the Corsair ; or the Pirate's Isle (1817), a romance adapted from Byron's poem. In 1819 he was being prosecuted by the government for the publication of The Political Litaney,

a bold and blasphemous parody of radical political intent.¹ He now published, and may have been the author of, "Don John," or Don Juan Unmasked; being a Key to the Mystery attending that remarkable Publication: with a descriptive Review of the Poem, and Extracts, 1819. He declares that he has penetrated the anonymity of the poem (which, indeed, everyone did) and proceeds to abuse "Don John" (that is, John Murray) for publishing such a work. All Murray's literary friends come in for their share of vilification, but the inspiration of the attack is seen when Hone centres his fire upon the famous series of literary commandments (i, 205-6: "Thou shalt believe in Milton, Dryden, Pope," etc.): "Mr. Murray . . . actually publishes a Parody on the Ten Commandments of God, whilst this prosecution is pending . . . for a Parody on the Litany, which is an entirely human composition." He then declares that Murray suppressed Byron's dedication of Don Juan to Castlereagh² "from delicacy to Ministers." "Why did not Mr. Murray suppress Lord Byron's Parody on the Ten Commandments?" He answers: "Because it contains nothing in ridicule of Ministers, and therefore nothing that they could suppose would be to the displeasure of Almighty God."

An anonymous pamphlet, the authorship of which has been ascribed to its publisher, John Stacy, appeared at Norwich in 1820: *A Critique on the Genius and Writings of Lord Byron, with Remarks on Don Juan*. The writer describes himself as "a man advanced in life, and neither irascible or jealous." He sees a meteor rising, whose fiery hair shakes pestilence—Byron, "a phenomenon to whom the literature of no age can produce a parallel." He warns "the noble writer" that talents

¹ The full title of this rare and curious piece is: *The Political Litany, diligently revised; to be Said or Sung, until the Appointed Change Come, throughout the Dominion of England and Wales, and the Town of Berwick upon Tweed. By Special Command. London: Printed for one of the Candidates for the Office of Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, and Sold by William Hone, 55 Fleet Street, and 67, Old Bailey, three Doors from Ludgate Hill. 1817. Price Two-pence.* The authorship has been ascribed to one John Marshall. There is a copy in the Public Library of the City of New York.

² The confusion here is doubtless due to some distorted rumor that had come to Hone of the fact that a dedication to Southey and some stanzas against Lord Castlereagh had been suppressed.

so depraved become crimes, that "immoral poetry was never long-lived." He attacks his sensual view of Love and laments "the mingled and chaotic gloom of infidelity, misanthropy, political scepticism . . . and the avowed and ostentatious abandonment of every moral principle, social duty, and domestic feeling." "It is incredible" to him "how females can peruse" Byron's works. "I know nothing easier," he remarks, "than to compose a poem à la Byron: take a (not) human being, load him with every vice . . . borrow as much pride, malignity, and blasphemy, as Satan can afford . . . let him have a mistress . . . let her . . . be *insinuated* to be his *sister*"; there must be no narrative, and the "essence of the poem" must be wholly "physical." Stacy concludes: "I have detained public attention too long with a subject which derives its importance only from its mischief." The "Remarks on Don Juan" which follow are reprinted from Blackwood's for August 1819.

Before the appearance of the second instalment of Don Juan there was published a very curious piece entitled: Gordon. A Tale. A Poetical Review of Don Juan. London: T. and J. Allman, 1821. This is described in the preface as "partly a burlesque parody on the style of Don Juan; partly a sacrifice of praise at the shrine of talent, and partly arguments proving its immoral tendency." Lacking the personal motive of Hone's pamphlet and the evidently sincere indignation of Stacy's, it is a dreary piece of cheap wit and cheaper moralizing. In the first canto we are told how the writer reads Don Juan by the fireside and meditates on the range of Byron's genius. Praise gradually gives place to blame and he ends with the "distressing thought" that the poet's intellect "serves but to infect." The second canto is a bit more lively. As the fireside reader closes Don Juan in pious disgust a tall stranger enters the room. The two men fall into conversation, which presently leads to Byron and his poem. The stranger defends it and as the other's criticism becomes more severe turns from pale to red and back again, and finally, losing all patience, becomes "a dreadful goblin." A vision of eternity in hell passes before the moralizer; a crowd of fiends rushes towards him; and then all disappears and he finds himself alone in his room,

his strange guest gone, and the fire and candles burning as usual. Sad rubbish!—but with a suggestion of the theme of retribution—"There is no debt that is not paid"—which was present in Tirso de Molina's drama and became the leading motive, even the title, of a later Spanish version of *Don Juan*.

Another burlesque satire directed against Byron's poem is the piece in two cantos ironically entitled: *Apology for Don Juan*. London: T. Green, 1824. This appeared just before Byron's death. It opens with the customary praise of Byron's genius, leading to a comparison between the poet-traveler and the writer's 'stay-at-home self'; thence to a glorification of English scenery and to the proofs of religion afforded by the majesty of nature; and the circle is completed by a return to Byron to deplore his lack of faith and the lamentable sight of

"A towering genius, a gigantic mind
By vice enslaved."

Byron is compared to Lucifer; and the resemblances in *Don Juan* to Cain are offered as one proof of the authorship of the former poem. Its anonymity is made the subject of certainly justified strictures:

"More respect, I'm certain, had been shown thee,
If that thy author had not blushed to own thee."

The satire then grows keener. Byron exploits immorality as a means of filling his pocket. The poet's doubts as to immortality suggest a disquisition on faith and virtue, closing with this severe chastisement:

"What is the poet's fame, who sometimes drolly
And sometimes with dark scornful language shows his
Aversion to whate'er is pure and holy,
While his own pen his wretchedness discloses;
Who oft with equal wretchedness and folly,
Contemns the Gospel and the books of Moses,
And in despite of conscientious qualms,
Perverts the Prophets, and profanes the Psalms?"

The second canto contains a rather amusing parallel between Byron's and *Juan's* career; a survey of Byron's travels and ideas; and a pious hope that, since "the noon of life is not yet past away," Byron, like Boccaccio and Rochester, may

ultimately repent. The whole closes with a confession that the author's

"ambition reaches
To hope that, side by side, on the same shelf
This work and his will rest."

Did he foresee that the centenary of Don Juan might recall his book for a moment from oblivion? After hearing of Byron's death he published a second edition of this *Apology* (London: W. Booth, 1825), to which he added eight elegiac "Stanzas on the Death of Lord Byron" (one of an innumerable host of such tributes) lamenting "the mighty bard," "the wayward, moody child." A third edition, "to which is added a third canto, including remarks on the times," appeared so late as 1850 (London: Partridge and Oakey). The author's name was now revealed: John W. Thomas, who, it seems, was a clergyman, translator of *The Divine Comedy*, and author of *The War of the Surplice*, a Hudibrastic satire on the Oxford Movement. There are several interesting changes from the earlier editions: a stanza that had prophesied the unpopularity of Don Juan is omitted, as is the one that condemns the poet who "contemns the Gospel and the books of Moses"—in 1850 it was no longer convenient to risk the Gospel and the Pentateuch standing or falling together. The new canto gives a summary of progress since Byron's day: science, politics, gold discoveries, steam, telegraphy, and much else. Where now is Byron?

"Gone—to the land where all things are forgot!
Ah, what avail his genius and his wit?
The call of glory now can rouse him not;
His race is run, and—what is writ is writ."

In 1855 this third edition was reissued almost verbatim by the same publishers, but with the title changed to *Byron and the Times*; or an *Apology for Don Juan*.

The most drastic of all contemporary pamphlets directed against Byron's writings in general and Don Juan in particular just synchronized in date of publication with Byron's death. This is *Cato to Lord Byron on the Immortality of his Writings* (London: W. Wetton), an anonymous pamphlet known to have been written by George Burges. It is an elaborate review of all the defects of subject-matter, character-drawing,

versification, and general view of life found in Byron's works, with a contrast between Byron and (of all people!) Cowper. Burges ventures the prophecy that *The Task* will be read when "Harold for his pride, Cain for his blasphemy, and Juan for his licentiousness, shall have scathed the laurels of Lord Byron, and consigned his poetry to an early and loathed grave." "The garbage which the present generation luxuriates upon, posterity will nauseate and cast upon the dunghill." After a hundred and twenty-eight pages of such abuse comes the threat that if Byron does not change his ways "what I have already said is mercy to what I shall be constrained to say hereafter."

As instalments of *Don Juan* continued to appear there were not wanting those who ventured to defend the poem. There is a clever little defence in an early pirated edition: *Don Juan*. With a Preface by a Clergyman. London: Hodgson, 1822. Though to Keats it was simply "Lord Byron's latest flash poem," though Wordsworth, who called it "that infamous publication," was "persuaded that *Don Juan* will do more harm to the English character than anything of our time," and though Southey, as would be expected, could not write of it without foaming at the mouth, in general the greater men of the time were quick to appreciate its greatness. Hazlitt was less acid than customarily and reserved his censure for the "flashy passages" and for its desecration of serious subjects; Leigh Hunt of course defended it warmly, for in *The Liberal* the later cantos were published; Jeffrey recognized its worth while deprecating its "tendencies." Scott, who, despite his sincere faith, was large-minded enough to accept the dedication of *Cain* to him, praised *Don Juan*. Shelley, with the characteristic lack of jealousy that is seen in all his references to Byron's work, said of *Don Juan* that it "sets him not only above, but far above, all the poets of the day—every word is stamped with immortality. . . . Something wholly new and relative to the age, and yet surpassingly beautiful." And again: "I think that every word of it is pregnant with immortality."

Praise of another sort is contained in: *A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Byron*. By John Bull. London: William Wright, 1821. This opens with a discourse on humbug and contends that such people as William Bowles (with whom Byron was in the midst of a controversy on the merits of

Pope's poetry) are unworthy of his powers. "Coleridge is naturally as clever a man as your Lordship, and if he chose to give up his opium for a week . . . could avenge himself abundantly, and give you, or any wicked wit in Europe, a thrashing to your heart's content." But Bowles! . . . "Stick to Don Juan: it is the only sincere thing you have ever written . . . written strongly, lasciviously, fiercely, laughingly—everybody sees . . . that nobody could have written it but a man of the first order both in genius and in dissipation. . . . Ten stanzas of it are worth all your *Manfred*." Byron read this Letter and wrote of it: "I have just read 'John Bull's Letter': it is diabolically well written, and full of fun and ferocity. I must forgive the dog, whoever he is."¹ Of all contemporary critics "John Bull" alone seems to me to fulfil Professor Oliver Elton's requirement concerning "the alert and mischievous sympathy, crossed with protest, which [Byron's satires] demand."²

It is, however, neither the sensation that the publication of *Don Juan* caused, nor the storm of abuse that accompanied the appearance of the successive cantos, nor the approval that it won from the great contemporaries who were not blinded by prejudice to its merits, that is the reason why I have spoken of the poem's "strange history." Trailing on behind its great fame, both in the intervals between the appearance of instalments, and after *Don Juan* had been left a gigantic torso, came a crowd of imitations and "Continuations" without parallel in the history of literature. Such Continuations are a fairly frequent phenomenon in literature; some are efforts to complete an unfinished work; others are sequels to works that, though complete in themselves, bear continuing. The attempts to complete Schiller's *Demetrius* belong to the first order; the sequels to *Le Misanthrope*, portraying the later fortunes of *Alceste*, belong to the second. To place among their peers the series with which we are here concerned I may remind my readers of some of the more noteworthy examples in English

¹ Letters and Journals, v, 315 f. A hoaxing review of *John Bull's Letter* in *Blackwood's* for July 1821 ascribed the authorship to Jeremy Bentham.

² *Survey of English Literature*, ii, 180.

literature. To one who knows the *Canterbury Tales* well the experience is not without charm of coming for the first time upon *The Tale of Beryn* in the prologue to which an anonymous follower of Chaucer tells with some liveliness of the fortunes of certain of the pilgrims after their arrival at *Canterbury*. And there are other continuations of the *Tales*. Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* tells of the forlorn latter days of Chaucer's heroine. A delightful example of this sort of thing is Fletcher's *Woman's Prize* in which Shakespeare's *Petruchio*, after the death of *Katherine*, meets his match in a second wife. Continuations of Shakespeare are, however, very rare. Kenrick's *Falstaff's Wedding* and Renan's *Caliban* (admissible only if we interpret "continuation" broadly) occur to me. Samuel Richardson was much annoyed by the continuator who carried his *Pamela* into "high life," and, at the suggestion of Warburton, continued his book in competition with the anonymous imitator. Richardson himself enumerated some sixteen continuations of his novel. Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* was of course itself begun as a parodying supplement to *Pamela*. He was a wiser man than the stationer-novelist, and therefore, not taking himself so seriously, seems not to have been much annoyed by the anonymous sequel to his masterpiece: *Tom Jones the Foundling*, in his *Married State*. Thackeray's exquisite burlesque, *Rebecca and Rowena*, is a continuation of *Ivanhoe*. Martin Tupper's *Geraldine*, a sequel to Coleridge's *Christabel*, is the boldest and most forlorn of all such efforts unless it be an attempt to complete *Kubla Khan* which I once saw in manuscript. G. W. M. Reynolds, one of the continuators of *Don Juan*, wrote a *Pickwick Abroad*; another continuator of Byron's poem, Henry Morford, was author of *John Jasper's Secret*, one of the many attempts to complete *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*.

To such essays in ingenuity the great fragment of *Don Juan* lent itself well; its fame and its incompleteness joined to make it a fit subject for speculation as to how the poet planned to finish his tale. The number of such attempts is extraordinary and these waifs and strays are not without interest to the explorer in the by-paths of letters. The only account of them hitherto is an article by Hans Raab "Ueber

einige Fortsetzungen von Byrons Don Juan." ¹ Raab notes but seven items and describes but four. I cannot hope that my list is exhaustive (Professor W. E. Leonard mentions one version that exists in manuscript ² and there are quite possibly more), but at any rate it is four times as long as Raab's.

Whether Byron ever had, even at the commencement of his poem, any definite idea of burlesquing the Spanish legend of Don Juan Tenorio is an open question. Wanting a hero, he takes

"our ancient friend Don Juan—
We all have seen him, in the pantomime,
Sent to the Devil somewhat ere his time."

In a note on this passage (I, i) E. H. Coleridge says that the pantomime referred to is Delpini's, founded on Shadwell's *Libertine*. De Bévotte, the chief authority on the legend, states, however, that this pantomime is directly from the Spanish.³ Byron may have been present at some performance in Italy of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*. Fitzmaurice-Kelly sees in Byron's "lady-killer of the regency" no connection with Juan Tenorio, nor does Swinburne; De Bévotte, on the other hand, devotes to Byron's hero a chapter in his monograph on the legend. Byron himself claims that he himself

"and several now at Seville
Saw Juan's last elopement with the devil."

But as the poem grew under his hand into the great satire and picture of society that it is, this purpose of parody, if it ever existed, disappeared. "You ask me for the plan of *Donny Johnny*," he writes to Murray (*Letters and Journals* iv, 342). "I *have* no plan. . . . Do you suppose that I could have any intention but to giggle and make giggle?" Gradually, however, his design shaped itself. In a later letter (v, 242 f.) he is quite explicit. "The fifth canto is so far from being the last of *Don Juan* that it is hardly the beginning. I meant to take him a tour of Europe, with a proper mixture of siege, battle and adventure, and to make him finish like *Anacharsis*

¹ In *Byroniana und Anderes*, Erlangen, 1912.

² W. E. Leonard, *Byron and Byronism in America*, p. 65, note 1.

³ G. G. De Bévotte, *La Légende de Don Juan*, p. 351.

Cloots in the French Revolution. . . . I meant to have made him a *Cavalier Servente* in Italy, and a cause for a divorce in England, and a sentimental 'Werther-faced man' in Germany. . . . But I had not quite fixed whether to make him end in Hell, or in an unhappy marriage, not knowing which would be the severest. The Spanish tradition says Hell: but it is probably only an Allegory of the other state." Byron told Medwin that he thought of introducing a scene of the plague, and that Leila was to be in love with Juan and he not with her. "He shall get into all sorts of scrapes, and at length end his career in France. Poor Juan shall be guillotined in the French Revolution." The poem itself contains but few indications as to the probable future conduct of the story. Towards the end of the first canto Byron outlines his program of love, war, wreck, "a panoramic view of hell," and so forth, all to be comprised in twelve books. This number is later increased to twenty-four, and finally he declares that "the first twelve books are merely flourishes" and that he proposes to "canter gently through a hundred." He had already written to John Murray (iv, 284): "Since you want *length*, you shall have enough of Juan, for I'll make fifty cantos." In Cephalonia, in October 1823, he told Dr. Henry Muir that he would write a hundred cantos at least (vi, 429). On the way to Greece in the same year he had remarked that if the coming adventures were of a serious cast they should be material for further cantos of Childe Harold; if comic they should go into Don Juan. It would seem, however, that except for the few stanzas beginning the seventeenth canto which were first published in 1902, he put Don Juan aside during the last phase of his life. At least, in a letter to Thomas Moore of March 4, 1824 (vi, 336) he contradicts the newspaper rumors that he was engaged on a further instalment of the poem. Several continuators took advantage of such rumors and stated that their hoaxes came from a manuscript in the possession of Thomas Medwin or of the Countess Guiccioli. Many years later La Guiccioli categorically accused Moore of having destroyed the last five cantos of Don Juan. This is her statement: ¹ "During his stay in the Ionian Islands, Missolonghi, he

¹ My Recollections of Lord Byron, translated by Jerningham, p. 39, note.

wrote five cantos of Don Juan. The scene of the cantos that followed was laid first in England and then in Greece. The places chosen for the action naturally rendered these last cantos the most interesting, and, besides, they explained a host of things quite justifying them. They were taken to England with Lord Byron's other papers; but there they were probably considered not sufficiently respectful toward England, on which they formed a sort of satire too outspoken with regard to living personages, and doubtless it was deemed an act of patriotism to destroy them. And so the world was deprived of them." The rumor that the Countess possessed two continuation cantos and meant to publish them came to George Meredith in 1864;¹ and we shall see it appearing again so late as 1880.

The earliest group of sequels appeared after Byron's first two cantos. Samuel Rogers wrote to Byron in 1820 urging him to give further instalments to the world, adding: "In the meantime a forgery or two is issuing from the press to gratify the most impatient." These hoaxes brought from Byron a protest to Murray (iv, 369-70): "You should not let those fellows publish false Don Juans." The reader may need to be reminded that at the end of Byron's second canto his hero, shipwrecked on one of the Isles of Greece, is found and ministered to by Haidée, the beautiful daughter of a pirate living there. At this point the continuators begin their work, in sad contrast to Byron's wonderful third canto that contains the account of the banquet at which the pirate discovers Juan and Haidée, with Juan's subsequent departure from the island and Haidée's death; that canto is made immortal forever by the presence of the lyric "The Isles of Greece" and of the stanzas

¹ Letters, i. 165. [When the Countess Guiccioli died in 1873 she left directions in her will that the papers of Lord Byron in her possession were to be published fifty years after her death. In 1923, therefore, the question whether she had any further cantos of Don Juan may be finally settled. At least among the documents must be many most interesting letters. Though Byron passed nearly eight years in Italy, no letters written in Italian are included in the collected edition of the Letters and Journals. Yet there must be many such in existence. It is betraying no confidence to say that Professor R. T. Holbrook has in his possession a photographic facsimile of a very interesting one.]

on the Ave Maria. How did the parasites on Byron's fame try to anticipate his conduct of the tale?

(1) Don Juan. Canto the Third. London: William Hone, 1819. This version is possibly by Hone himself, whom we have already met with and who had been frequently a thorn in the side of Byron. After four opening stanzas of abuse against "Drab John" (John Murray) stanza v takes up the narrative. Juan, after many wanderings, comes to London to earn his living and to support his large family, for he has married Haidée who has regularly borne him twins for six successive years. He considers the claims of the law and the church, but decides on politics which he plans to enter through a career in journalism. After some satire upon various magazines we find Juan become a radical journalist. The times are evil:

"It was the time when England's robe was rent,
And famine's curse was blistering on her tongue;
When through her every limb strange shiverings went,
And suffering held her every nerve unstrung;
When passion vainly strove to find a vent,
When helplessly her maniac arms were flung
To Heaven, and Heaven allowed unscathed to go
The monsters who had wrought such utter woe."

(The reference is evidently to the terrible suffering of the years immediately succeeding Napoleon's overthrow and seem to comport ill with the chronology of the poem till we remember that it is not until canto vii, which narrates Juan's adventures at the siege of Ismail, that the period of Don Juan is established as that of the French Revolution.) Juan starts a paper called *The Devil'd Biscuit* which he advertises in an unusual way, namely, by singing the contents of it to the passing throngs to the accompaniment of his guitar. Satiric references to the Lake School are introduced. Then Juan describes a political meeting that he had attended, and gives a report of various speeches, among others one by Hobhouse. (This interesting if unpretentious survival of the satiric method of the *Satire Ménippée* is noteworthy.) At this point Juan is arrested and brought before the magistrate on the charge of treasonable practices. The examination is lively, but in the end bail is refused and Juan is taken to jail. The author hopes that if

the police spare this canto the fourth may appear. It is obvious that the theme—the misfortunes of radical journalists—is based on such actual occurrences as those that befell the brothers Hunt, the shaft of satire being directed against their persecuting Tory opponents. Hone, himself, was, as we have seen, on trial for blasphemy.

(2) A New Canto. London: William Wright, 1819. The planlessness of Byron's thirteenth canto is here anticipated; Juan's adventures are postponed to a future instalment, and this canto is chiefly occupied with an account of Doomsday and of how it will affect various personages. This gives an opportunity for general satire.

(3) Don Juan. Canto XI. London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1820. In a foreword the author quotes Horace—

“Pictoribus atque poetis
Quidlibet *audendi* semper fuit aequa potestas”—

in justification of his leap from canto ii to canto xi. At the point where he takes up the story Juan has rejoined Donna Julia, and the pair have become desperate criminals. During their wanderings through Switzerland the overwhelming of a village by an avalanche suggests to Juan the indubitable nature of the punishment that awaits his lost soul. Later they approach Rome, which is described with much Byronish rhetoric. Juan moralizes on “man, lordly man, the being of a day.” He and Julia sit by the seashore and presently witness a shipwreck, the ship taking fire and blowing up when the powder-magazine aboard explodes. There follows a dismal description of the sea giving up its dead at the Last Judgment. Juan smiles at the ghastly spectacle before him when suddenly a woman's form is cast upon the shore. It is Haidée, who “muttered ‘Juan’ in her agony.” She dies, praying that Juan may be forgiven though, betrayed and deserted by him, she had fled from her father and her home. Juan is quite demoralized:

“How doubly dreadful death such love to sever!
And shall they never, never meet again? Oh! never.”

Immediately after, Juan is struck by lightning. Julia, who has been converted to atheism by Juan (a long digression of

the close relation of chastity to other virtues in women), mourns over him; Juan, who, despite the fact that he has been struck by lightning, does not die for a whole day, rebukes her lawless passion, contrasts her probable fate with that of the innocent Haidée, affirms his belief in God and eternal punishment, and confesses his sins to a priest who happens to pass by. Julia goes mad and leaps to her death from a crag.

“ ‘Then all is o’er,’ said Juan, as he gaz’d:
 He gasped—he gnaw’d the sand in agonies.—
 Sudden the friar started, for earth blaz’d;
 And dark clouds roll’d, and deadly-glaring eyes
 Shot forth on Juan; laughter rent the skies
 Whilst yawn’d the ground, and down the body sunk,
 Fathomless, hell-deep, and * * * * *

So, with a row of asterisks, the piece ends. The stanza employed is that of Childe Harold, in which respect, as in the grotesque extravagance that makes one suspect that beneath the apparent morality there is a feebly burlesque intention, the thing is unique among the sequels.

(4) *Don Juan*. Canto III. London: R. Greenlaw, 1821. The writer hits on something like the development of affairs that Byron himself imagined. Juan and Haidée are awakened by approaching footsteps. Haidée leaves hastily; her father, Lombro, enters and grapples with Juan. Juan strangles him, throws his body over a cliff, and hides again in the cave, which hunger forces him at length to quit. He is captured by Greek pirates and forced to board their ship. Presently they are attacked by another ship and a sea fight follows which is described at tedious length. Juan falls out of a port-hole and climbs aboard the other ship, which proves to be Spanish. The pirates are vanquished and Juan proceeds with his countrymen to Venice. The writer promises to devote his next canto to Juan’s adventures there.

(5) *The Sultana; or a Trip to Turkey*. A Melodrama in three acts, founded on Lord Byron’s *Don Juan*. New York: N. B. Holmes, 1822. This play is not exactly a “continuation” of the poem; the distortion of the plot is sufficient, however, to warrant us in regarding it as an imitator’s variant upon the narrative in Byron’s third, fourth, and fifth cantos. It opens with Juan’s being washed ashore after the shipwreck;

the Haidée episode follows, ending with the discovery by Lombro. Juan is sold as a slave and is presently found in a Turkish seraglio. Haidée, however, (like Tiny Tim) did *not* die, and follows Juan disguised as a boy (a hint evidently obtained from some of Byron's oriental tales). The two are at last happily reunited.¹

(6) Don Juan. Cantos IX, X, and XI. Albany, N. Y., 1823. This version, ascribed to I. S. Clason in Cushing's Anonyms (under "Don Juan") I have been unable to discover, despite careful inquiry. It is apparently different from Clason's second continuation, referred to below.

No more "false Don Juans" appeared until after Byron's death. The last canto of the genuine poem tells of a house-party at Norman Abbey at which Juan, who has been for some time in England, is a guest. One night Juan follows down a corridor what he takes to be a ghost, which turns out to be his fellow-guest, the Duchess of Fitz-Fulke. With his recognition of her Don Juan comes to an abrupt conclusion. This risqué and dramatic ending gave ample scope to the imagination of continuators. Earlier cantos afforded them few hints. The eleventh ends with speculations as to whether Juan would marry or be "taken in for damages"; the twelfth with the remark that his good looks were bound to expose him to the temptations of London society. It is evident that Juan's Turkish ward, the little Leila, was not brought to England for nothing; the poet himself is anxious for the fate of Juan's hostess at the house-party, the Lady Adeline (xiv, 99); in later cantos Aurora Raby was evidently to become a character of importance; about the fate of "her frolic Grace Fitz-Fulke" there can, I fear, be little doubt. The hordes of imitators, though some of them "reform" Juan, never once strike what is obviously the most likely fashion in which Byron might have completed his poem and which has been well surmised by Roden Noel:² "Yet would not the poet have concluded it, had he survived the liberation of Greece, with the hero's devotion of himself to the cause of human emancipation, after having ex-

¹ Another drama founded on Don Juan is by J. B. Buckstone (number 828 in Dick's Standard Plays).

² Life of Lord Byron, p. 139.

hausted self-seeking experience, and found the mere pursuit of personal pleasure unsatisfying to the truer self? That, at least, was the history of his own career, and he is reflected faithfully in his work." But we must return to the continuators.

(7) Continuation of Don Juan. Cantos XVII and XVIII. London: G. B. Whittaker; and Oxford: Munday and Slater, 1825. A short "Advertisement" summarizes Byron's poem to the point where he left off. Canto xvii opens with a long elegy on Byron; his virtues, his heroic death, his defects—especially the choice of the theme of Don Juan. The writer plans to go on with the poem, but does not feel bound to carry out what "the poet *meant* to do." When Juan discovered that the duchess had played a practical joke he wisely retreated "and saved his character and went to bed." At breakfast the next day her Grace cuts Juan dead; he is further distracted by sitting next to the bewitching Aurora Raby. A letter is brought to him, on reading which he bursts into tears. In canto xviii we learn that it is the announcement of the death of his mother. Juan is remorseful on account of his long absence from home. A long digression follows, the general tenor of which is "See England first" and which includes a tribute to "the Minstrel of the North." That evening when nearly all the company are away at a dinner, Juan wanders wretchedly in the garden (digression on evening). He hears a voice singing a lyric—a very mediocre one which I shall not quote. 'Tis Aurora Raby. His determination to return to Spain to visit his mother's grave weakens; he goes to bed but not to sleep. Presently he is aroused by a tumult and finds that Norman Abbey is on fire. All the inmates escape safely save Aurora. Juan rushes back into the burning building and finds her in her oratory on her knees, for she has abandoned hope. He carries her to "th' embattled walls" some twenty feet above the lake, for the fire now prevents escape through the building. He jumps in with his fair burden and bears "his drooping charge uninjured to the shore." Thus the little book ends. The character of the advertisements bound in and a reference or two point to some Oxford student as the author.

(8) Don Juan, Canto XVII, XVIII. London: Duncombe, 1825. This version is sometimes added to later editions of the

genuine poem "with a preface by a clergyman" to which reference has already been made. In the piece there is an evident ambition to outdo the first canto of *Don Juan*. It opens with a passage in praise of intrigue. Juan engages in a brief amour with the duchess which is observed by her scandal-spreading waiting-woman. In canto xviii the same gossip overhears Juan talking to his hostess, the Lady Adeline, and reports it to Lord Henry Amundeville, her husband. He surprises them in the midst of an entirely innocent conversation, and manages to make a considerable fool of himself. He offers to send his inconvenient guest on a mission to Scotland; Juan accepts the offer and with an account of the journey the book closes. Throughout both cantos the narrative is constantly interrupted by digressions in the approved Byronic fashion—on scandal and political economy; architecture and the improvement in personal comforts effected by modern inventions; travel, immortality, blasphemy, blue-stockings, critics, and many other quite unrelated matters, all in a very dull fashion indeed.¹

(9) *Don Juan*. Cantos XVII–XVIII. New York: Charles Wiley, 1825. This seems to be the version referred to in Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America* (iv, 134) as by I. S. Clason. Unlike most of the sequels it is a deliberate hoax, purporting to be by Lord Byron. The most noteworthy part is the opening statement as to the function of *Don Juan* to pluck off the scales from men's eyes and make them see clearly and without cant. The two cantos deal with Juan's liaison with the duchess; the inopportune arrival of the ugly old Duke of Fitz-Fulke; his suspicious jealousy of his spouse; and the confirmation of that jealousy by the revelations of a waiting-woman who had herself loved Juan. There are the customary digressions: on Napoleon, the Vanity of Human Wishes, marriage, love, and so forth.

(10) *Juan Secundus*. Canto the First. London: John Miller, 1825. As in the *New Canto* of 1819 there is no plot to this piece. It contains many literary and personal allusions of

¹ Among the advertisements at the end of this book there is mention of Beppo in London. A *Metropolitan Tale*, of interest as showing another budding-off from Byron's work, but apart from our present subject.

some interest. From Campbell "the purest rays of literature have shone"; Byron was "the God of poesy"; Scott,

"The first to change the Author's desert way
To all that's fair, from what was desolate."

There is praise for "modest Rogers"; but

"Wordsworth, thou'rt the oddest of all codgers!"

The writer has "a high opinion" of Milman; but Southey—"no, I don't like Southey." Tom Moore is his favorite. This review finished, he apologizes to the ladies for the dryness of his subject.

"I have another canto, which I *guess*
(As Mathews says) will come out by and by,
More suited to your taste; this, I confess,
Is rather stupid, common-place, and dry—
A sort of hodge-podge, which I can't express,
But who the Devil cares for that? not I;
I write just as I think, and never mind
What's coming after, or what's left behind."

He promises to sing of heroes, mathematicians, authors, politicians, judges, divines, debutantes, and barristers. For the present, however, he thinks that eighty stanzas are enough; he would like to add notes, as other authors have done, but he does not wish to be tedious. Apparently this program for the future was not a mere conventionality borrowed from the real Don Juan, for in the British Museum copy of this piece there is another little work that contains among the advertisements at the end one of the second canto of Juan Secundus. Of this canto I have found no trace; it is not in the British Museum.

(11) The Seventeenth Canto of Don Juan, In continuation of the unfinished Poem by Lord Byron. London: W. Wilson, 1829. A sub-title states that this is "intended as the First Canto of the remaining Eight which are wanting to complete that Author's original design of extending the Work to Twenty-four." This sequel is one of the most nearly successful of the series, though in the scandalous nature of the subject-matter it eclipses Byron. A modest preface closes with the words: "I shall console myself with the consideration that some credit at least is due to the individual who can support even the character of Harlequin with success." Such consolation as it is,

it may be granted him. The canto is no less than 260 stanzas, in length, and begins :

"We all have seen, or heard, or read, of late,
A story somewhat amorous and witty,
Concerning the adventures and estate
Of a young Spaniard, noble, gay, and pretty :
And tho' his birth 'tis needless to repeat,
I cannot help esteeming it a pity
A tale so well begun, so fair, and clever,
Should hang thus lopp'd, as 'twere, and scant, for ever."

- There follows presently an invocation to Xenophon, Thucydides, Plutarch, Goldsmith, Smollett, Gibbon, Hume, and Rollin. Then, lest the writer be guilty of giving offence, the "immediate consequences" of Juan's meeting with Fitz-Fulke are skipt over. The story of the canto centres in a love-affair between Adeline and Juan, after his successful efforts to rid himself of the duchess, which results in a duel with Lord Henry Amundeville. The digressions are chiefly upon the hypocritical sort of morality practiced by

"this canting, croaking, preaching clan,
Those strainers at a gnat, those camel bolters,"

whose first commandment is "Thou shalt not know on earth felicity." From one of the notes to the text we learn that the author was an Irishman. Throughout there is very evident admiration for Byron's genius and nowhere any sign of disapproval of the morality of Don Juan.

(12) The title-page of Don Juan in Search of a Wife is missing in the copy in the British Museum; the book contains some other poems that do not concern us. The first canto of the title-poem is dated Oxford, 1825; the second, Rome, 1834; therefore the conjectured date, 1830, in the Catalogue of the British Museum cannot be correct. The poem is written in the metre of *Venus and Adonis*, the same less difficult approximation to *ottava rima* that Halleck had adopted in *Fanny*. It is not narrative, but an expression of juvenile opinions on marriage and politics in satirical vein.

(13) Canto XVII of Don Juan. By one who desires to be a Very Great Unknown. London: James Gilbert, 1832. A frontispiece, crudely done, is of some interest. It shows two lamps, named Partiality and Prejudice, burning before a pile

of volumes the titles of which are: Medwin, Parry, Galt, Moore, Hunt, and Reviews—in allusion to various books and articles inspired by Byron's great career but from one point of view or another unjust to his memory. The writer describes himself as a "mere disciple" of Byron who will undertake to complete Don Juan. His canto tells vaguely of the conclusion of the Fitz-Fulke episode; of Lady Adeline's warnings to Aurora Raby to beware of the Spanish guest; of the duchess's jealousy of Aurora; and of the earlier stages of a love-affair between that young lady and Juan. It ends with their plighting their troth. The piece is unusually direct in narrative with comparatively little of the customary satiric digressions.

(14) Internal evidence dates the next Continuation between 1834 and 1847. For an account of this rarest of all the sequels I am indebted to Raab's monograph mentioned above. The only copy known is in the English Seminar at Erlangen—and that is the second volume only, without any title-page. In this book there is inserted a clipping from an old catalogue which gives John Clark of Bridgewater as the author's name and states that the poem "was privately printed by the author and never published." The missing first volume contained cantos xvii-xx; volume two begins with canto xxi. Juan is discovered in a fortress in the Pyrenees; an agent of the Inquisition orders that he be taken to Rome for trial on the charge of heresy. Juan, through a series of comical adventures, escapes from the ship and manages to reach his native town of Seville. Not feeling safe there from persecution, he returns to England and visits Norman Abbey during a house-party on which the same visitors as on the former occasion are assembled. Thence he goes to Paris, arriving there at the height of the Reign of Terror. He becomes involved in an attempt to rescue the Dauphin, is arrested, tried, and executed; and a rich Jewish friend obtains burial for his body. The narrative is intermingled with passages of philosophical speculation of a very rationalistic variety.

(15) The Irish problem, a theme constantly recurring in these poems, forms the entire subject of Twenty Suppressed Stanzas of Don Juan in reference to Ireland. Great Totham, Essex: Printed at Charles Clark's Private Press, 1838. These stanzas, it is stated, are "From a Manuscript in the possession of Captain Medwin, warranted genuine"; but they are without

doubt an impudent forgery. They resume some incidents of Irish history with some ecclesiastical legends of Irish saints and various complimentary allusions to Irish characteristics—all in an utterly un-Byronic manner. Originally published in a volume called *Georgian Revel-ations*, which contained also a satire in the manner of Peter Pindar, these verses were separately reprinted in 1845 at the same press under the title: *Some rejected Stanzas of "Don Juan."*

(16) *Don Juan Junior: A Poem by Byron's Ghost.* Edited by G. R. Wyther Baxter. London, Edinburgh and Dublin: various booksellers, 1839. This piece contains much vague confused rambling satire on men and manners. The tale is of a son of Byron's Juan. He refuses to marry a girl whom he has betrayed and she, dying shortly after, leaves him a lock of her hair. This affects him but momentarily for presently he goes to a ball where he sings a very heartless song about his love-affair. Scarcely is it finished when the dead girl appears in a vision and upbraids her faithless lover. He faints, and the canto ends with some cynical comment on morality. The second canto opens with a long passage on the changes wrought by time, obviously imitated from a famous passage in the real *Don Juan*. This leads to the changes in the character of the elder Juan, who has become a "Catholic devotee," with pinched face and slovenly dress. He is still a bit too fond of the ladies but is constantly doing penance for his sins and is absolutely under the thumb of his confessor. The character of this priest is drawn with much skill, and there is an amusing account of Juan's confession to him—really a review of various adventures in Byron's poem: Julia, Haidée, Dudu, Catherine. The course of Juan's life from the point at which Byron left off is hinted at, particularly a liaison with Lady Adeline. The younger Juan is a chip of the old block; the identity of his mother remains a mystery. This suggests the pity of indiscrete love, and a long passage follows on the pity of various things, public and private, ending:

"Young Victoria! lady of these isles!
It's a pity you let that guzzling Melbourne
Come shadowing so often."

Incoherent as much of this satire is, the piece is of unusual significance, for, though unknown to Bévotte (our chief au-

thority on the Don Juan legend), the character of the younger Juan, in its brutal, cynical faithlessness and egotism, is the nearest approach to the true Don Juan tradition that has appeared in England since Shadwell's *Libertine* and the *Love-lace* of Richardson.

(17) *Don Juan Reclaimed*; or his *Peregrination* continued from Lord Byron. Sheffield: Printed for the Author, 1840. The title-page states that this is by "W. C.," initials which in the British Museum copy are filled in "William Cowley." This version is eloquent of the way the smug mantle of prudery was settling down over Victorian England. After his meeting with the duchess Juan reforms and spends much of his time in prayer. The occupations of the house-party and the conversations in which they engage are set forth at quite intolerable length. On the Sabbath Juan goes to the Roman Catholic church in his Russian coach, taking with him the duchess and Miss Raby. Juan's conduct is always exemplary, a change ascribed to the elevating influence of virtuous female society. His habit is to rise early to view the beauties of nature; each morn he is more deeply impressed until finally, like the birds, he bursts into a morning hymn—which fortunately need not be quoted. As a sample of this edifying production the last stanza of all, describing Sunday after church, may be quoted:

"While dinner and dessert brief pass'd away,
Though all were free, good humour'd, social, kind,
Yet none appeared indiscreetly gay:
Their topics of discourse shew'd them inclin'd
To manifest a deference to the day,
And tended to improvement of the mind,
Till it was time their pillows should receive them,
Where to delightful dreams at present leave them."

(18) *The Rest of Don Juan*. Inscribed to the Shade of Byron. By Henry Morford. New York: Burgess, Stringer and Co., 1846. A motto gives the key-note to this version: "If rough talk offend thee, we'll have very little of it." This book has escaped the drag-net of Professor W. E. Leonard's researches into Byronism in America. It is very long—645 stanzas divided into seven cantos. The digressions, save for a few American allusions and some literary satire on Dickens, L. E. L. and a few other notables, are even more tedious than in most of the other sequels. The first canto is introductory

and tells of Byron's death, his grave, his sister's loyalty, and much else; an elegy sung by the Greeks (in the metre of "The Isles of Greece") is introduced. The story, setting aside the digressions, is summarily as follows. Juan's relations with the duchess and Lady Adeline get him into various troubles. Later he receives a command from the Empress Catherine to return to St. Petersburg. This he obeys, accompanied by his Turkish ward, Leila; but on the way he is warned of dangers in Russia, and retracing his steps he goes to southern France. There he leaves Leila and returns to Paris in time to witness various scenes of the Revolution. He engages in a couple of love-affairs, and a cast-off sweetheart murders a wealthy woman whom Juan is about to marry. Disgusted with Paris, he goes to Seville, where he settles down to an easy dissolute life until one night, at a banquet, a tall dark stranger enters and beckons Juan away. The two depart together while the lights burn dim and the guests smell brimstone. The next day Juan's body is found in a cemetery. For such a conclusion Morford found a hint in Byron's poem.

(19) *A Sequel to Don Juan*. London: Paget and Co., is undated; the Catalogue of the British Museum queries "1825?" but allusions in the text place it between 1843 and 1850. *Notes and Queries* (4th S., i, 267) dates it 1842. One can imagine Byron himself—that is, Byron at his worst morally and poetically—writing it, for though vulgar and shoddy it does get something of the tone of *Don Juan*. It is anonymous, but has been ascribed to G. W. M. Reynolds, a writer of some little note in his day though now forgotten. Except Morford's, it is the most elaborate of all the sequels. The book is embellished with a series of steel engravings in the style that we associate with such old "annuals" as *The Keepsake* or *Friendship's Offering*. In his preface the author promises eleven more cantos, should they be called for, in order to bring his poem (which is in five cantos) to the same length as Lord Byron's. It would seem that there was no call for them. The plot, which is complex, rather clever, and very repulsive, exaggerates the license of *Don Juan* into licentiousness. A new heroine, the governess of the little Turkish girl brought by Juan to England, appears. Juan is involved in a divorce suit and later loses all his money. He then goes to

Paris where he has various adventures in the Revolution and is thrown into prison. The method of his release through the agency of a mysterious female (an episode apparently borrowed from Voltaire's *L'Ingénu*) is sufficiently scabrous; with that episode the book closes. It is a violently Whig production, exhibiting the Whig tradition of glorification of Napoleon, attacking Peel's tariff reforms, and loudly praising modern education. In lines that are of the very essence of Philistinism it glorifies the portion of society that came into power with the passage of the Reform Bill:

"But if you look for virtue, seek it where
The golden mean is found—the middle grade
Of our society, with whom the care
Exists of England's commerce and her trade."

Of literary satire there is little; Dickens is roughly treated:

"Dickens full well, too, knows what humbug means,
For he has built his fame upon that basis,
By dint of sheer vulgarity."

An attempt is made to apologize for the license of the poem on the ground that it is a "satire on abuses, not a eulogy on vice." This excuse the author borrows from Byron; but the imitator is evidently disingenuous, whereas Byron was profoundly sincere. Byron puts his pictures of moral abuses into proper setting and proportion with other subjects of satire; in this *Sequel* the emphasis is exclusive.

(20) In *Notes and Queries*, June 30, 1877, H. J. Daniel makes the following statement in answer to a query: "I wrote a seventeenth canto of *Don Juan* and published it in London about twenty years since. . . ." This description corresponds to no item on my list. The piece must have appeared about 1857.

(21) *Don Juan*. Canto Seventeen. This appeared in a volume of *Poems* by Edward Wilberforce and Edmund Blanchard, London: Longman, etc., 1857. This sequel is almost unique in that it possesses real charm and can be read with pleasure as well as with antiquarian interest. It purports to have been written by Byron in the Elysian Fields. Byron is there reconciled to Wordsworth and has met the great poets of former times. The judgment of the Greeks on Thackeray,

Dickens, and other contemporary novelists and poets is amusing. "Thank heaven, there are no women in Elysium!" Hence, by an easy transition, to Juan. Byron has been lectured by Milton on his immorality and has promised to reform his hero. He undertakes to bring him to France in the time of the Revolution (Carlyle will supply materials) and to arrange that he be beheaded by the guillotine. With this outline of the future course of the narrative the canto closes.

(22) *The Termination of the Sixteenth Canto of Lord Byron's Don Juan.* By H. W. Wetton. London: Trubner, 1864. Alone among the continuators Wetton failed to see that Byron's sixteenth canto is complete, the artistic conclusion coming with Juan's discovery of the duchess. The morning after the meeting with her, Juan takes a walk and encounters a funeral which gives rise to sober reflections in his brain. When he returns to breakfast he finds that the Duke of Fitz-Fulke has arrived. With some lamentable attempts to reproduce table-talk this poem, the poorest of the lot, comes to an end. The efforts at digression and satire are amazingly feeble. Wetton assures us that should we despise this first essay of his Muse,

"She will not grieve, as I have said before,
But take the hint, and never trouble more."

Apparently she "took the hint" for no more appeared.

(23) *Rodolph*, a dramatic fragment in continuation of "Don Juan." . . . By a Minor. This title, without date or place, I get from *Notes and Queries* [4th Series, i, 267 (1868)]. I have been unable to find a copy of the piece.

(24) *Don Juan. Canto XVII.* London: Thomas Cooper, 1870. This version is made up in large part of asterisks; it would have been better if more such chaste stars had taken the place of some of the stanzas printed. The theme is the jealousy of the Lady Adeline and the duchess, and the contrasting purity of Aurora Raby. There are the usual satiric digressions on literary, social and ethical matters.

(25) *Don Juan in Ireland.* By "Leon." This is mentioned in the *Athenaeum* of December 3, 1870, as about to appear. I have not seen a copy; nor do I know its connection with the suppressed hoax *Don Leon* of 1866, which I shall de-

scribe in its place among the Byron forgeries in the course of another article.

(26) *The Shade of Byron. A Mock Heroic Poem.* London, [1871]. I do not reprint the very long title, which connects the piece with the Byron-Stowe scandal then in the high tide of discussion. It is a continuation of *Don Juan* in six cantos, with digressions on many subjects, especially Byron's character and career and various typically Byronic ideas. There is very little plot: the liaison with the duchess, the morning after, breakfast, a quarrel with Lord Henry, and a duel.

(27) *The New Don Juan.* The Introduction by Gerald Noel Byron, and the Last Canto of the Original *Don Juan* from the Papers of the Countess Guicciolli [*sic*] Never before published. London: E. Head [1880]. This forgery, the whole of which was written by G. N. Byron, takes advantage of the long-current rumors, previously referred to, that the Countess Guiccioli had in her possession certain unpublished cantos of *Don Juan*. The narrative portion tells how Juan's attentions to the Lady Caroline [*sic*, for Adeline] involve him in a duel with Lord Henry in which Juan is slightly wounded. He is tenderly nursed by Aurora Raby, with whom he falls honorably in love. After some dispute with her guardian, the Lord Chancellor, they are united and the canto ends with the departure of the happy pair for Spain.

(28) *Don Juan. Canto XII.* This last and best of the continuations is found in *To the End of the Trail*, by Richard Hovey. New York: Duffield, 1908. It is certainly the most convincing reproduction of the spirit and movement of Byron's verse. It is supposed to be written by Byron in hell, in this resembling number 21 above. Byron refuses to take up the poem at the point where he had dropt it:

"Southey's forgotten; so is Castlereagh;
But there are fools and scoundrels still to-day."

The satire refers to current topics; we hear nothing of Juan. The poet is full of curiosity as to events on earth:

"I've such a next day's thirst for information,
I'd even be content to read *The Nation*."

On the whole, despite some scanty exceptions to the contrary, poverty of invention and servile imitation of Byron's mannerisms, with no ray of his genius, characterize the en-

tire series of continuations. If Byron laughs at much upon which his contemporaries set store, it is in order that he may destroy abuses by ridicule; his imitators laugh—or titter—simply because Byron laughed. He digresses because he has much to say, because his poem is a criticism of life; his imitators because he had set the fashion. Their digressions, even when not offensive, have not a particle of the psychological interest that Byron puts into his. They are never the product of a full mind following the train of thought wherever it may lead. They are mere chatter, breaking the course of the story and contributing nothing. The contrast is as marked in the narrative portions. Donna Julia, her bedroom and her letter; Haidée, her innocent love and her pathetic death; politics and scandal; the country house-party and urban escapades—all are imitated again and again in these faint crude copies of Byron's pictures of life. Except Hovey's and possibly *The Rest of Don Juan* not one merits for its own sake even such feeble renewal of life as is given it in the pages of this article.¹

If the continuations of *Don Juan* are numerous, imitations in the metre and manner of the poem are innumerable. These I cannot attempt to catalogue here; but notes on a few of them will further illustrate the greatness of the fame with which Byron's poem comes to its hundredth anniversary. One of the earliest and most successful, though not in the exact metre of the original, was Fitz-Greene Halleck's once famous *Fanny* (1819), a satire upon flashy New York Society, with many digressions, which is aptly characterized in the *Fables for Critics*. Blackwood's, which assailed *Don Juan* so fiercely on its appearance, at once began to imitate it in *Daniel O'Rourke*; *An Epic Poem in Six Cantos*. By Fogarty O'Fogarty, Esq. of Blarney, which ran through several numbers in 1820 and 1821. Leigh Hunt attempted to bolster up the

¹ These forlorn little offscourings of literature are now hard to come by. I have put my notes together after searching through the libraries of Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and the University of Pennsylvania; the Boston Public Library; the Boston Athenaeum; the New York Public Library; and the Library of Congress. One rare item is in my own possession. Another I borrowed from Mr. W. C. Bullitt, Jr., of Philadelphia. For several pieces inaccessible in this country I depend on notes kindly made for me by Dr. Gertrude H. Campbell who has had recent access to the British Museum. Professor C. H. Page called my attention to Hovey's continuation.

failing Liberal by two satires in the metre, and in feeble imitation of the mood, of Don Juan: The Dogs and The Book of Beginners. The anonymous Grafenstein (1826) is much in the manner of Don Juan though the metre is different. The Pilgrimage of Ormond; or Childe Harold in the New World (Charleston, S. C., 1831), though written in Spenserians, is much nearer in style and thought to Don Juan than to Childe Harold. Another American imitation is W. W. Western's "To Whom It May Concern." A Poem on The Times,' which uses the *ottava rima* and tells in satiric vein of the actual adventures of two Confederate officers journeying to Liverpool. The Count and his Cotemporers (1837) is a long and rather pointless satire imitated from Don Juan. Don Juan at Athens (1858) is an equally pointless satire on Edinburgh architecture, containing slighting references to Ruskin. The Last Days of a Bachelor, by James McGregor Allan (1862), is full of the influence of Don Juan. Thomas Hood's Friendly Address to Mrs. Fry in Newgate owes something to Byron for its manner and George Croly's Modern Orlando much for its matter. In Sir William Watson's The Eloping Angels there are signs of the survival of the style; and much more than mere signs in Gilbert Cannan's "Noel. An Epic in Ten Cantos," the first instalment of which was published last year and which is a rather ill-natured and quite dull satire on everything in general and many things in particular.

I have said enough to show with what trailing clouds, if not of glory, at least of the most sincere form of flattery, Don Juan has come down to us. I believe that the poem is now comparatively little read. This is a pity, for, granting that much of it is tiresome and trivial, there is much that is wise and witty, much that is beautiful and tender, much that is sincere and strong, crowded along with much that one might wish away, in its many pages. It is a special and preeminent example of Arnold's definition of poetry as a criticism of life. And it is from this point of view that many critics of the most varying views have hailed it as the most characteristic poem of the nineteenth century, the modern epic. It is a brilliant picture of life and society in many climes and lands, furnished moreover with a running commentary, generally satirical but not always so, upon the men, women and affairs which it seeks to illustrate. Remembering this, we can understand,

if not entirely condone, certain features of the poem ; there are spots reflected in the mirror, but the blame therefore should attach not to the glass held up but to the original reflected therein. It is a reflection of life where all things are not high nor tender nor sweet :

“ These things are life,
And life, some think, is worthy of the Muse.”

When all is said, the voluptuousness and license and vulgarity and indelicacy—unfortunately the best-known characteristics of the book—make up but a small part of its total content. It is a tremendously human book ; life is here in its various and most vital phases : love and joy, suffering and hate and war, death in many forms. And it records what lies between these highest and lowest strata of experience, the petty along with the great, the dull and prolix along with the terse and the thrilling. It is a satire on society and social usage and conventions, on sham and cant, on pride of place, on the ostentation and vanity of glory, on the innumerable little affairs of life. Perhaps it is most interesting when regarded as a record of friendships and animosities. True to life or in the thinnest of disguises we find many acquaintances of Byron's : his wife, La Guiccioli, and other women ; Ali Pacha ; Castlereagh, Wellington, and other political personages ; Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, Keats, Moore, and other literary celebrities ; people in London society ; Spanish ladies and those of the seraglio ; followers of the Empress Catherine and that redoubtable woman herself (here Byron penetrates beyond the range of his own experience and the interest consequently flags in these middle cantos) ; enslaved Italian opera singers ; cossacks, highwaymen, sailors, members of Parliament, tutors, pirates, and what not. All life is there. It is a poem of many moods, grave and gay, bitter and sweet, mocking and serious. The sudden changes in the mood are paralleled by the constant surprises in the rimes. The stanza employed lends itself, in this deft handling, to all these tones. It is perhaps best adapted to satirical comment where a situation can be summed up in the sestet and the required epigrammatic comment rendered in the concluding couplet. For narrative, if we may judge by *The Pot of Basil*, it would seem not so well fitted ; but in Byron's

hands the story flows easily and swiftly along when the poet does not wilfully hinder it by digression. We become accustomed to regard the serio-comic as the most characteristic mood of the verse, but we must never forget Byron's oft-quoted confession:

"And if I laugh at any mortal thing
'Tis that I may not weep."

The evil of the world is not the less keenly sensed because the corrective furnished is that of ridicule. And on occasion the volleys of the Comic Muse give place to passages that are deeply and entirely serious, save perhaps for fitful flashes of wit, and even these can be suppressed in proper season. There is, for example, the sombre, magnificent, and incomparable description of the shipwreck; or the Shelleyan picture of idyllic love by the sea under southern skies; or the exquisite and tenderly meditative "Ave Maria" and address to Hesperus; or the argumentative discussion of the "simple life" in the passage on Daniel Boone; or the solemn questionings about death in the narrative of the commandant's assassination.

The poem has come down to us and now enters upon its second century as that work which has more than anything else of Byron's achievement stood the test of disparagement and notoriety and time, which has grown when his fame grew and kept its place when his fame suffered temporary but almost total eclipse, which has come to be regarded as his greatest contribution to literature, which is a wonderful memorial of a society "gone glimmering through the dream of things that were," and which yet remains—and this is the final mark of its greatness—in all essentials equally applicable to the life of to-day.¹

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¹The above paper is put together from part of the material I am collecting for a study of Byron's Prestige in England, which I hope to have completed in time for the centenary of his death. Other portions of this material have already appeared in the *New York Nation*, *Notes and Queries*, and *Modern Language Notes*. Still other parts are forthcoming. I am presenting the subject thus tentatively with the express purpose of inviting corrections and additions from other students of Byron.

ADDENDA.

Since this article was put into type I have come across the following notes which had been mislaid and which, rather than require a rearrangement of the article, I add here. (i) The stanzas called *Don Juan Unread* are by William Maginn. (ii) The pamphlet *Cato to Lord Byron* is possibly by George Croly, a fact that sheds additional light upon the relation of that poetaster, dramatist, and novelist to Lord Byron. (See "*Byron and Croly*" by the present writer, *Modern Language Notes* xxviii, 201 f.) (iii) A curious offshoot of Byron's *Don Juan*, unlike any of those described above, is the following: *Don Juan. Volume the First.* By Alfred Thornton, Esq. With fifteen coloured engravings. London: Printed for Thomas Kelly, 17, Paternoster Row, MDCCCXXI. An "Advertisement" at the commencement of this book declares that the adventures, intrigues, and fate of *Don Juan* have for nearly three centuries "been a fruitful source of instruction and delight." "In the midst of its recent attraction as a drama, a noble poet (Lord Byron) seized it as the theme of one of the most extraordinary poems ever written. . . . He has . . . done little more than demonstrate how far that very interesting subject may be improved by making it the vehicle of amusement, blended with solid information, and uniting with the delight of romance the grave and important principles of morality." The book is a sort of picaresque romance taking the hero and his valet through various countries and many licentious adventures which are not rendered more tolerable by the thin veneer of "morality" spread over them. Byron's poem is quoted several times, especially towards the beginning of the book. A companion volume is: *Don Juan. Volume the Second.* Containing his Life in London, or, A True Picture of the British Metropolis. By Alfred Thornton, Esq. [Motto from Boswell's *Johnson*]. With coloured engravings. [Same imprint as volume one], 1822. *Don Juan's* adventures in London here give ample opportunity for satire upon English society. In these books the "Spanish tradition" of the character of the hero is followed much more closely than in Byron's poem. Both volumes are now very rare and bring high prices

when they come upon the market. Gendarme de Bévotte makes no mention of them. (iv) In connection with this article one may profitably re-read the eleventh chapter of De Bévotte's *La Légende de Don Juan*; the facts recorded in this paper may necessitate some slight alteration of his conclusions with regard to the influence of Byron's poem, and in any case he will be found to supply further information regarding the reception of *Don Juan*. (v) Among the notes to the first volume of *Don Juan* in the "Lyceum edition" of Byron's works, edited by R. H. Stoddard (London and Boston: F. A. Niccolls, [n. d.]), will be found extracts from various early reviews of the poem that shed still further light upon its reception.

S. C. C.

II.—CURTIUS AND ARRIAN.

PART II.

Narrative Common to Curtius and Arrian.

I. MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES.

In many passages the Curtian and the Arrian statements coincide exactly. And this is true of individual words as well as of longer passages. Curt. 4, 1, 14 *de cetero*: Arr. 2, 14, 9 τοῦ λοιποῦ; Curt. 4, 15, 14 *inter haec*: Arr. 3, 13, 5 ἐν τούτῳ; Curt. 6, 6, 21 *strenue*: Arr. 3, 25, 6 σπουδῇ; Curt. 3, 11, 1 *iam ad teli iactum pervenerant*: Arr. 2, 10, 4 εὐθὺς γὰρ ὡς ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο; Curt. 7, 5, 36 *inde processit ad Tanaim amnem*: Arr. 3, 30, 7 ἐνθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Τάναϊν ποταμὸν προΐει. Equivalence of participial construction is also noticeable. Curt. 4, 6, 11 *praetervolans*: Arr. 2, 26, 4 ὑπερπετόμενος; Curt. 3, 12, 7 *iussum indicare, falso lamentari eas vivum*: Arr. 2, 12, 5 ἐντειλάμενον φράσαι ὅτι ζῇ Δαρείος; Curt. 5, 3, 3 *amne superato*: Arr. 3, 17, 1 διαβὰς τὸν Πασιτίγγιν ποταμὸν; Curt. 4, 10, 9 *instructo igitur milite et composito agmine antecede-
bat* (Livy 21, 34, 5 *incede-
bat*). Sed Persarum moratores erant, mille ferme, qui speciem magni agminis fecerant: Arr. 3, 7, 7 ξυντάξας οὖν τὴν στρατιὰν προὔχῳρει ὡς ἐς μάχην· καὶ ἄλλοι αὐ τῶν προδρόμων προσελάσαντες ἀκριβέστερον οὗτοι κατιδόντες ἔφασκον δοκεῖν εἶναι σφισιν οὐ πλείους ἢ χιλίους τοὺς ἱππέας. Curt. 7, 11, 1 *una erat petra, quam . . . obtinebat, alimentis ante congestis-
quae tantae multitudini vel per biennium suppetere-
nt*. Petra . . . undique abscisa et abrupta semita perangusta aditur: Arr. 4, 18, 5 ὡς δὲ ἐπέλασαν τῇ πέτρῃ, καταλαμβάνει πάντῃ ἀπότομον ἐς τὴν προσβολὴν σιτία τε ξυγκεκομισμένους τοὺς βαρβάρους ὡς ἐς χρόνιον πολιορκίαν; Curt. 7, 4, 21 *Oxo amne superato exustisque
navigiis, quibus transierat, ne iisdem hostis uteretur, novas
copias in Sogdianis contrahebat*, which translates Arr. 3, 28, 9 Διαβὰς τὸν Ὄξον ποταμὸν τὰ μὲν πλοῖα ἐφ' ὧν διέβη κατέκαυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Νάυτακα τῆς Σογδιανῆς χώρας ἀπεχώρει, with a *ne*-clause thrown in giving the interpretation of Curtius. We find in

Curt. 8, 10, 19 Acadira transit . . . usta et destituta incolentium fuga, although no mention is made of the burning of any other town. The explanation is that Curtius named only one of the two towns mentioned in Arr. 4, 24, 2 ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, and in 4, 24, 6 Καὶ ταύτην καταλαμβάνει ἐμπεπρησμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πεφευγότας.

Diodorus in 17, 38, 4-7 considers Alexander's treatment of the captive women as the greatest of his acts, because success in war comes rather διὰ τύχην ἢ δι' ἀρετήν. Arrian, closing his account of the visit to the captives, says in 2, 12, 8 Καὶ ταῦτα ἐγὼ οὐθ' ὡς ἀληθῆ οὔτε ὡς πάντα ἀπιστα ἀνέγραψα. ἀλλ' εἴτε οὕτως ἐπράχθη, ἐπαινῶ Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς τε ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας κατοικτίσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν ἐταῖρον πίστεως καὶ τιμῆς· εἴτε πιθανὸς δοκεῖ τοῖς συγγράψασιν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς καὶ ταῦτα ἂν πράξας καὶ εἰπών, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐπαινῶ Ἀλέξανδρον. Curtius in 3, 12, 18-22 moralizes on the same act, discussing the proposition "hac continentia animi si ad ultimum vitae perseverare potuisset," giving a conditional setting as does Arrian. Some passages have the subjunctive for the optative in the Greek: Curt. 3, 1, 8 nisi misisset: Arr. 1, 29, 2 εἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτο; Curt. 3, 1, 16 qui . . . solvisset: Arr. 2, 3, 6 ὅστις λύσει; Curt. 6, 5, 8 venire eos iussit, fortunam, quam ipse dedisset, habituros: Arr. 3, 23, 8 Ἐκέλευσε δὲ ἡκεῖν ξύμπαντας καὶ παραδιδόναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέποντας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χρῆσθαι ὃ τι βούλοιτο, ἢ σώζεσθαι ὅπῃ δύναντο. In Curt. 6, 5, 19 the pluperfect ni reddidissent, neminem esse victurum, represents the future indicative in Arr. 5, 19, 6 Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προεκήρυξεν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν Οὐξίους, εἰ μὴ ἀπάξουσιν αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππον· καὶ ἀπήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ κηρύγματι; cf. Diod. 17, 76, 7 ὡς ἂν μὴ τὸν ἵππον ἀποδῶσι. Curt. 8, 1, 9 si dedignaretur: Arr. 4, 15, 3 εἰ ἀπαξιοί.

II. THE FOUNTAIN OF AMMON.

We have four different full accounts of the wonderful spring at the temple of Ammon. Two of these are in Greek—Arr. 3, 4, 2, and Diod. 17, 50, 4-5; two are in Latin—Curt. 4, 7, 22 and Pomponius Mela, Chorogr. 1, 8, 39. It is also mentioned in Pliny, N. H. 2, 228 Iovis Ammonis stagnum interdiu frigidum noctibus fervet. Mela says fons media nocte fervet, mox et paulatim tepescens fit luce frigidus, tunc ut sol surgit ita subinde frigidior per meridiem maxime

riget. sumit deinde teporem iterum, et prima nocte calidus, atque ut illa procedit ita calidior rursus cum est media perfervet. Curtius has est aliud Ammonis nemo: in medio habet fontem—Solis aquam vocant. sub lucis ortum tepida manat, medio die, cuius vehementissimus est calor, frigida eadem fluit, inclinato in vesperam calescit, media nocte fervida exaestuat, quoque nox propius vergit ad lucem, multum ex nocturno calore decrescit, donec sub ipsum diei ortum adsueto tepore languescat. The cycle in Arrian is from *ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ* to *μεσημβρίας*; in Diodorus from *ἄμ' ἡμέρᾳ* to *ἅμα τῷ φωτί*; in Mela from *media nocte* to *media*; and in Curtius from *sub lucis ortum* to *sub ipsum diei ortum*. Arrian has the adjective *ψυχρόν* at the beginning and *ψυχρότατον* at the end, while Mela has *fervet* and *perfervet*, and in the use of *frigidus . . . frigidior, calidus . . . calidior*, resembles Arrian more than does Curtius, though the words of Curtius *inclinato in vesperam* exactly reproduce Arrian's *ἐγκλίναντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐς ἑσπέραν*.

III. THE LETTERS OF ALEXANDER AND DARIUS.

The letters which passed between Alexander and Darius would furnish an excellent basis of comparison, if literal reproduction of contents had been a part of the plan of the historians. But as Arrian in 7, 25, 1 and Plutarch in Alex. 76 give the contents of the Ephemerides in widely differing form, we assume that the letters as we have them give merely the substance of the originals. They are mentioned by Diodorus in 17, 39 and 54, and are summarized by Justinus in 11, 12. Curtius in 4, 1, 4 seqq., as does Arrian in 2, 13, 8, mentions Strato, the surrender of Aradus, and the coming of Alexander to Marathos. While there (Curtius *ibi*), Arrian 2, 14, 1 *Ἔτι δὲ ἐν Μαράθῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος ἀφίκοντο παρὰ Δαρείου πρέσβεις, ἐπιστολὴν τε κομίζοντες Δαρείου καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης δεησόμενοι ἀφείναι Δαρείῳ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας*. Both Curtius and Arrian say that the request was for the mother, wife and children of Darius, but these are given in different order. According to Arrian, Darius also asked that a messenger be sent back with his own, and this messenger, Thersippus, is mentioned before the report of the reply, while Curtius gives his name after quoting the letter. Both writers state that the reply charged the Persians with bringing

war on Macedonia and Greece. Both mention Philip, the plotting of Darius against Alexander, the invitation to come to Alexander, and protection should he be afraid to do so. One statement assigned by Curtius to Alexander in sec. 13 et di quoque pro meliore stant causa, makes of general application one in Arrian 2, 14, 7 τῶν θεῶν μοι δόντων, while the last sentence, de cetero, cum mihi scribes, memento non solum regi te, sed etiam tuo scribere, slightly abbreviates the statement of Arrian in sec. 9 Καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ὅταν πέμπῃς παρ' ἐμέ, ὡς πρὸς βασιλέα τῆς Ἀσίας πέμπε, μηδὲ [ἀ] ἐξ ἴσου ἐπίστελλε, ἀλλ' ὡς κυρίῳ ὄντι πάντων τῶν σὼν φράζε εἰ του δέῃ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγὼ βουλευσόμεαι περὶ σοῦ ὡς ἀδικούντος.

Interiecto tempore (Just. 11, 12, 3), *isdem fere diebus* (Curtius 4, 5, 1), Ἐτι δὲ ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς Τύρου ξυνεχομένη Ἀλεξάνδρου (Arrian 2, 25, 1), a message came from Darius proposing a ransom, a cession of land, and a marriage arrangement. The statement of the amount of the ransom varies, but it seems to have been ten thousand talents for each party—mother, wife, children; the cession was to extend to the Euphrates; the bride was to be the daughter of Darius. The details of the terms agree with those given by Arrian. The Alexander-Parmenio incident which is connected with the letters is associated by Curtius in 4, 11, 14, with a third letter and the words nunc Alexander de paupertate securus sum et me non mercatorem memini esse, sed regem, seem to be an expansion of Arrian's ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρός ἐστιν.

IV. ANALYSIS OF BOOK III AND OTHER SECTIONS.

The first sentence in Curtius, inter haec Alexander ad conducendum ex Peloponneso militem Cleandro cum pecunia misso Lyciae Pamphyliacque rebus compositis ad urbem Celaenas exercitum admovit, is a combination of three independent statements in Arrian: 1, 24, 2 Ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ Κλέανδρον τὸν Πολεμοκράτους ἐπὶ ξυλλογῇ στρατιωτῶν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, in sec. 3 αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Λυκίας τε καὶ Παμφυλίας ἦει, and 1, 29, 1 Καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Κελαινὰς πεμπταῖος, changing two of Arrian's verbs to the ablative absolute, and summing up the results of the coming of Alexander by the word *compositis*. Like this is Curtius 5, 13, 1-2: Alexander audito Dareum movisse ab Ecbatanis, omisso itinere, quod petebat [in Mediam] fugien-

tem insequi pergit strenue. Tabas—oppidum est in Paraetacene ultima—pervenit: ibi transfugae nuntiant praecipitem fuga Bactra petere Dareum. Certiora deinde cognoscit ex Bagistane Babylonio. This also combines parts of Arrian 3, 19, 3 and 4 'Αφικνέεται δωδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς Μηδίαν. ἔνθα ἔμαθεν οὐκ οὔσαν ἀξιόμαχον δύναμιν Δαρείῳ οὐδὲ Καδουσίους ἢ Σκύθας αὐτῷ συμμάχους ἦκοντας, ἀλλ' ὅτι φεύγειν ἐγνωκὼς εἶη Δαρείος· ὁ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἦγε σπουδῇ. ὥς δὲ ἀπείχεν Ἑκβατάνων ὅσον τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν . . . ἀπῆντα ὁ Ὀχου παῖς; 3, 20, 2 'Αφικνέεται ἐς Πάγας; and 3, 21, 1 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀφικνέεται παρ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαρείου στρατοπέδου Βαγιστάνης Βαβυλώνιος ἀνὴρ. Curtius states some of Arrian's facts a little differently, and for Πάγας has Tabas, but such changes are immaterial. The following geographical sections 2-5 and 11-13 are not from Arrian, who does give in one sentence (1, 29, 2) one-half of the citadel episode, while Curtius gives a possible complete transaction, *Alexander . . . illi, Alexander . . . (illi)*. Section 9 is Arrian 1, 29, 5, although 10, beginning with *ceterum*, is the reflection of Curtius on the course of events. The story of the cutting of the Gordian knot, which had already been given at considerable length by Pompeius Trogus (Justinus 11, 7, 3-16), is short in comparison with that given by Arrian in 2, 3, 1-8. Arrian gives λόγος as the source for the story, and it is evident that both Trogus and Curtius drew from the current account, as Justinus has *cupido eum cepit*, and Curtius *cupido incessit animo*. Also the statement in Justinus si quis solvisset, eum tota Asia regnaturum, has the order of the parts reversed in Curtius, Asiae potiturum, qui . . . solvisset. Arrian states the facts (2, 3, 1-7), and then interprets the feelings of Alexander. Curtius likewise gives the situation, circa regem erat et Phrygum turba et Macedonum, illa expectatione suspensa, haec sollicita ex temeraria regis fiducia, and then expands the statement of Arrian. And in so doing in sec. 17 beginning with *quippe*, he gives in other words what he had already stated in sec. 15 notabile erat iugum adstrictum compluribus nodis in semetipsos implicatis et celantibus nexus. Sections 22-24 give the facts in Arrian 2, 4, 1-2, and also contain a piece of information about the Veneti which was gathered from Livy 1, 1, 2-3. At this point the scene shifts to Persia, and the Alexander account is interrupted by chapters 2 and 3.

3, 1 is Arr. 2, 2, 1, and the following story is told in Plut. Alex. 18, but most of the statements gathered from another account are thrust in, breaking the continuity of the account of Curtius. This can be seen by comparing the close of chapter 1 and the beginning of chapter 4, Cappadociam petit . . . interea Alexander Abistamene Cappadociae praeposito Ciliciam petens cum omnibus copiis in regionem, quae Castra Cyri appellatur, pervenerat. Arrian has in 2, 4, 2 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Καππαδοκίας ἰλάσας ξύμπασαν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλνυος ποταμοῦ προσηγάγετο καὶ ἐτι ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἄλυν πολλὴν καταστήσας δὲ Καππαδοκῶν Σαβίκτην σατράπην αὐτὸς προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τὰς Κιλικίας. καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ Κύρου τοῦ ξὺν Ξενοφῶντι στρατόπεδον, ὡς κατεχομένας τὰς πύλας φυλακαῖς ἰσχυραῖς εἶδε, Παρμενίωνα μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλείπει σὺν ταῖς τάξεσι τῶν πεζῶν, ὅσοι βαρύτερον ὥπλισμένοι ἦσαν; see Curt. 3, 4, 15. The mention of the *castra Cyri* calls for an explanation which is not Arrian's, and is incorrect. Curtius then states the arrival of Alexander within fifty stades of the entrance to Cilicia: Pylas incolae dicunt artissimas fauces, munimenta quae manu ponimus, naturali situ imitantes. The account of Arsames then interrupts the story (sec. 3-10), and when Curtius resumes it, just as if he had not already mentioned the Pylae, he says Alexander fauces iugi, quae Pylae appellantur, intravit.

Chapter 5 gives the episode of the Cydnus, but also contains the assumed meditations of the soldiers and of Alexander in the presence of the great danger. Chapter 6 has the romance of the physician Philip, giving the interpretations of Curtius woven into the facts stated by Arrian. Some parallel passages will show the latter: Arrian 2, 4, 7 ὁ δὲ Κύδνους ῥέει διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως: Curt. 5, 1 mediam Cydnus amnis . . . interfuit; Arr. (sec. 8), Φίλιππον δὲ Ἀκαρῶνα, ἱατρὸν, ξυνόντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ: Curt. 3, 6, 1 Philippus, natione Acarnan, fidus admodum regi; Arr. (sec. 9) Τὸν μὲν δὴ παρασκευάζειν τὴν κύλικα, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοθῆναι ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ Παρμενίωνος φυλάσασθαι Φίλιππον· ἀκούειν γὰρ διεφθάρθαι ὑπὸ Δαρείου χρήμασι, ὥστε φαρμάκῳ ἀποκτείναι Ἀλέξανδρον. Curt. (sec. 4) inter haec a Parmenione . . . litteras accepit, quibus ei denuntiabat, ne salutem suam Philippo committeret: mille talentis et spe nuptiarum sororis eius esse corruptum. The latter part of sec. 9, and sec. 10 of Arrian are reproduced in sections 9 and 10 of Curtius, but the remainder of the chapter is original with Curtius.

Chapter 7 opens with a statement about Darius hearing of the sickness of Alexander, and then crossing the Euphrates. The scene shifts back to Alexander, and sections 2-10 are a mosaic. The first sentence iam Alexander viribus corporis receptis ad urbem Solos pervenerat begins with an ablative absolute, Curtius' own, and closes with a translation of Arr. 2, 5, 5 ἐς Σόλους ἀφίκετο. Section 3 is worthy of notice from the form into which it is put: vota deinde pro salute suscepta per ludum atque otium reddens ostendit, quanta fiducia barbaros sperneret: quippe Aesculapio et Minervae ludos celebravit. The *quippe*-clause combines parts of two sections of Arr. 2, 5, 8-9, while the first of the sentence is the comment of Curtius on the facts. The basis of sec. 4 Myndios quoque et Caunios et pleraque tractus eius suae facta dicionis, is from Arrian, though *pleraque* stands for two towns mentioned by him. Section 5 is section 9 of Arrian, but in sec. 6 Curtius goes back to Arr. 2, 5, 1. The account of the council (sec. 8-10), and that of Sisenes (sec. 11-15) are not from Arrian.

The first twelve sections of chapter 8 set forth a discussion among the Persians something like that about Charidemus as given in Diod. 17, 30, 2-7. It is then stated in sec. 13 forte eadem nocte et Alexander ad fauces quibus Syria aditur, et Dareus ad eum locum, quem Amanicas Pylas vocant, pervenit, although we find in 3, 7, 10 itaque inter angustias saltus hostem opperiri statuit. In the following sections Curtius expands the narrative of Arrian by giving the details of the mutilation of the captives (cf. Florus 1, 39, 7), and varies from Arr. 2, 7, 1 that there might be messengers to inform Alexander of the arrival of Darius. Then there follow two pieces of fiction, one (sec. 20-22) preceding, and the other (sec. 25-30) following a few facts.

Fränkel, pp. 105-6, calls attention to the harmony in the descriptions of the battle of Issus as given by Callisthenes, Arrian and Curtius. The last two have the same numbers, but Curtius has names not given by Arrian. In chapter 9, 3, Curtius explains Arr. 2, 8, 6 Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τῶν Καρδάκ[κ]ων καλουμένων ἔθεν καὶ ἔθεν ἐς ἐξακισμυρίους· ὁπλῖται δὲ ἦσαν καὶ οὗτοι by in subsidiis pugnacissimas locaverat gentes. The Grecian commanders are as given by Arrian in 2, 8, 3-4. The horsemen, Macedones Thessalis adiuncti, are given in reverse

order by Arrian, sec. 9 Καὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας, just as Thraces quoque et Cretenses is the reverse of οἱ τε Κρήτες τοξόται καὶ οἱ Θράκες in Arr. 2, 9, 3. Of chapter 10 we have already spoken, but we may here add that the stages of the battle as given by Curtius in chapters 9, 10, and 11 *acies stetit, iam in conspectu*, and *iam ad teli iactum pervenerant*, reverses Arrian's arrangement of the first and second stages. The facts stated in chapter 11, the attack of the Persians on the left wing of the Macedonians, the movements of the Thessalians, the operations on the right, are as given by Arrian, but are interspersed with reflections and some extra-Arrian material. The losses given in sec. 27 in *acie autem caesa sunt Persarum peditum c milia, decem equitum*, are evidently from Arr. 2, 11, 8 Τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος εἰς δέκα μάλιστα μυριάδας καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἱππεῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους. The number is given indefinitely by Plut., Alex. 20 Καταβαλὼν ὑπὲρ ἑνδεκα μυριάδας; and in Diod. 17, 36, 6 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ἐτελεύτησαν τῶν βαρβάρων πεζοὶ μὲν πλείους τῶν δέκα μυριάδων, ἱππεῖς δ' οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν μυρίων. The accounts by Arrian and by Curtius of what followed the battle are alike in general outlines (see Fränkel, p. 210), but differ in the order in which the different actions are given. The final chapter of Book III gives incidents and names not found elsewhere, and evidently not from the same source as the preceding; for it has in sec. 13 Oxathris—frater hic erat Darei, the writer evidently forgetting that the same information had been given in sec. 8 of chapter 11.

This analysis shows that there are four elements in the work of Curtius: a Grecian historical, a subsidiary Persian, a traditional, indicated occasionally by *fama* in Curtius and by *λόγος* in Arrian, and an original Curtian. And the sure indication of the composite character of the work is the fact that at four different points where the current of the Alexander account is interrupted, the resumption does not agree with the termination of the previous Alexander section.

Curtius also gives evidence of the composite character of his work by the use of *igitur* as a resumptive particle in welding together once unconnected facts. In Curt. 3, 4, 2 the facts are as given by Arr. 2, 4, 2, and 5 from which is gained the name Arsames. This is introduced *igitur Arsames*, and

reads as if the advice given in Diod. 17, 18, 2 had been adopted. Curt. 5, 1, 43 begins *igitur* rex . . . relinquit, the information coming from Diod. 17, 64, 4-5; but the following 65, 1 is given in Curt. 5, 1, 40. In Curt. 6, 6, 18 seqq. the facts from Arr. 3, 25, 3 and 4 are separated by a section found in Plut. Alex. 57, the particle introducing the second part from Arrian. Curt. 8, 10, 1 is connected in the same way with 8, 9, 1. Curt. 3, 7, 2-5 is an epitome of Arr. 2, 5, 5-9, *igitur* with three ablatives absolute, in the last sentence, stating what Arrian also gives with three participles.

Some breaks in the narratives of Curtius and Diodorus make it impossible to determine accurately the amount of space given to the different stages of the career of Alexander. Curtius has 79* pages from the beginning of Book III to Arbela, 127* from Arbela to India, and 68 from India to the death of Alexander. The figures for the same periods are for Diodorus 48—30*—50*, and for Arrian 80—72—175. These figures indicate for Curtius and Diodorus about equal stress on the first and third periods, the emphasis being placed by Curtius on the second, and by Arrian on the third. Had Curtius drawn only from Arrian he must have condensed for the third period and enlarged for the second. The latter is the most intensely rhetorical portion of the work of Curtius, and the speeches inserted lie largely outside the range of Arrian's account. In the third period the account of Curtius is for the most part parallel to that of Diodorus, and little use was made of Arrian. This being the case we shall consider a number of passages from the second period in order to emphasize more fully some phases of the work of Curtius.

Book V, from Arbela to the death of Darius, has only an occasional statement parallel to that of Arrian, and the same is true of the first three chapters of Book VI. Beginning with chapter 4 we shall give some passages from Curtius indicating something in regard to the genesis of the statement. The parts due to Arrian will be in Roman type, those to Diodorus in capitals, those to Curtius in italics, and those of unknown origin in brackets. Curtius 6, 4, 1-3: *summa militum alacritate iubentium quocumque vellet duceret, oratio excepta est. nec rex moratus impetum* (see Plut. Alex. 47, 13): TERTIOQUE PER PARTHIENEN DIE AD

FINES HYRCANIAE PENETRAT Cratero relicto cum iis copiis, quibus praeerat, et ea manu quam Amyntas ducebat, additis DC equitibus et totidem sagittariis, *ut ab incursione barbarorum Parthieneni tueretur*. Erigyium impedimenta modico praesidio dato *campestri itinere* ducere iubet. Ipse cum phalange et equitatu CL STADIA EMENSUS castra in valle, *qua Hyrcaniam adeunt, communit*. *Nemus praealtis densisque arboribus umbrosum est pingue vallis solum rigan- tibus aquis, quae ex petris imminetibus manant*. Then follows the account of the Ziobetis, from Diodorus 17, 75, 2. It will be noticed that the beginning is found in Plutarch Ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐξέκραγον ὅποι βούλεται τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄγειν; that the numbers are from Diodorus, and that the description of the road (Livy 21, 32, 5), of the *nemus* (Verg. Aen. 1, 165), and the *ut*-clause are due to Curtius himself. The remainder is an adaptation of a sentence in Arrian 3, 23, 2 and the following Ἐριγύϊον δὲ τοὺς τε ξένους καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἱππὸν ἀναλαβόντα τὴν λεωφόρον τε καὶ μακροτέραν ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε, τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄμιλον ἄγοντα. Ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὰ πρῶτα ὄρη καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας αὐτοῦ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς κουφοτάτους καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὗς ἦει χαλεπὴν ὁδὸν καὶ δύσπορον, φύλακας τῶν ὁδῶν καταλιπὼν, ἵνα σφαλερόν τι αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, ὥς μὴ τοῖς ἐπομένοις κατ' ἐκείνα ἐπιθοῖντο οἱ τὰ ὄρη ἔχοντες τῶν βαρβάρων. αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν τοξοτῶν διελθὼν τὰ στενὰ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς ποταμῷ οὐ μεγάλῳ.

Curtius 6, 4, 8 quartum iam diem eodem loco quietem militi dederat, *cum litteras Nabarzanis, qui Dareum cum Besso interceperat, accipit*. Sec. 23-24 [xxx hinc stadia proces- serat] cum Phrataphernes ei occurrit seque et eos *qui post Darei mortem profugerant*, dedens: quibus *benigne exceptis ad oppidum Arvas* pervenit. Hic ei Craterus et Erigyus occurrunt: praefectum Tapurorum gentis Phradatem addux- erant. *Hic quoque in fidem receptus, multis exemplo fuit experiendi clementiam regis*. Satrapen deinde Hyrcaniae dedit Menapin: [exul hic regnante Ocho ad Philippum per- venerat]. Tapurorum quoque gentem Phradati reddidit. Ch. 5, 21-22 Rex obsidibus acceptis Phradati parere eos iussit. [Inde quinto die in stativa revertitur]. Artabazum deinde *geminato honore, quem Dareus habuerat ei*, remittit domum.

Iam in urbem Hyrcaniae, in qua regia Darei fuit, ventum erat: ibi Nabarzanes accepta fide occurrit *dona ingentia ferens*. The last statement is from Arrian 3, 23, 4 Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὄντος αὐτοῦ Ναβαρζάνης τε ὁ Δαρεῖον χιλιάρχης καὶ Φραταφέρνης ὁ Ὑρκανίας τε καὶ Παρθναίων σατράπης καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἀμφὶ Δαρεῖον Περσῶν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι ἀφικόμενοι παρέδωκαν σφᾶς αὐτοῦς. ὑπομείνας δὲ ἐν τῇ στρατοπέδῳ τέσσαρας ἡμέρας ἀνέλαβε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, but in the preceding passage Arr. states that Nabarzanes, Phrataphernes and others of the most prominent Persians surrendered themselves. It is improbable that Nabarzanes wrote when the others came, and the words patriam esse, ubicumque vir fortis sedem sibi elegerit, are too much like Cicero, Tusc. Disp. 5, 37, 108 to be considered otherwise than as an exercise by Curtius himself. Sections 23-24 are from Arrian, with *Arvas* for *ἄρας* (see page 30) and Menapin for Ἀμμινάπην, Arr. 3, 22, 1. The last section corresponds partly to Arrian 3, 23, 7 and 9; and 3, 25, 1 Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Ζαδράκαρτα, τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν τῆς Ὑρκανίας, ἵνα καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τοῖς Ὑρκανίοις ᾔη.

Sections 1-12 of chapter 6 give an account of the moral decline of Alexander. The remainder is from Arrian 3, 25, with the insertion of sections 14-17 giving an account of the burning of the baggage, and 26-32, the burning of the defensive hedge. The Latin of sec. 13 is namque Bessus veste regia sumpta Artaxerxen appellari se iusserat Scythasque et ceteros Tanais accolae contrahebat. Haec Satibarzanes nuntiabat. This gives almost literally a part of fourteen lines of Arrian 3, 25, 2-3, but the order is reversed: Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀρείας ὄρια καὶ Σουσίαν, πόλιν τῆς Ἀρείας, ἵνα καὶ Σατιβαρζάνης ἦκε παρ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν Ἀρείων σατράπης. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τὴν σατραπείαν ἀποδοὺς ἐμπέμπει αὐτῷ Ἀνάξιππον τῶν ἑταίρων δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππακοντιστῶν ἐς τεσσαράκοντα, ὡς ἔχει φύλακας καθιστάναι τῶν τόπων, τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἀρείους πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς κατὰ τὴν παράδοον.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν τινες, οἱ ἠγγελλον Βήσσου τὴν τε τιάραν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν Περσικὴν στολὴν φοροῦντα Ἀρταξέρξην τε καλεῖσθαι ἀντὶ Βήσσου καὶ βασιλέα φάσκειν εἶναι τῆς Ἀσίας· ἔχειν τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν τε τοὺς ἐς Βάκτρα διαφυγόντας καὶ αὐτῶν Βακτριανῶν πολλοὺς· προσδοκᾶσθαι δὲ ἔχειν αὐτῷ καὶ Σκύθας συμμάχους.

Continuing in sections 18-22 Curtius says: Igitur Bactrianam regionem petebant. Sed Nicanor, Parmenionis filius,

subita morte correptus *magno desiderio sui adfecerat cunctos. Rex ante omnes maestus cupiebat quidem subsistere funeri adfuturus, sed penuria commeatum festinare cogebat.* [Itaque Philotas cum duobus milibus et DC relictus], *ut iusta fratri persolveret*: ipse contendit ad Bessum. Iter facienti ei litterae adferuntur a finitimis satraparum, e quibus cognoscit BESSUM QUIDEM HOSTILI ANIMO OCCURRERE CUM EXERCITU, ceterum Satibarzanen, *quem satrapeae Ariorum praefecisset, defecisse ab eo.* Itaque *quamquam Besso imminabat, tamen Satibarzanen opprimendum praeverti optimum ratus* levem armaturam et equestres copias educit *totaque nocte itinere strenue facto improvisus hosti supervenit.* Cuius cognito adventu SATIBARZANES CUM DUOBUS MILIBUS EQUITUM—*nec plures subito contrahi poterant*—Bactra perfugit, CETERI PROXIMOS MONTES OCCUPAVERUNT. It is to be noticed that *igitur* refers, not to what immediately precedes, but to the close of the Arrian passage before the insertion of sections 14–17. Cf. Arrian 3, 25, 4–5: 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἔχων τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν ἦε ἐπὶ Βάκτρων, ἵνα καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μενελάου παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο ἐκ Μηδίας, ἔχων τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους ἱππέας, ὧν ἡγείτο αὐτός, καὶ Θεσσαλῶν τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς ὑπομείναντας καὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς Ἀνδρομάχου. Νικάνωρ δὲ ὁ Παρμενίωνος ὁ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἄρχων τετελευτήκει ἤδη νόσῳ. ἰόντι δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν ἐπὶ Βάκτρα ἐξηγγέλθη Σατιβαρζάνης ὁ Ἀρείων σατράπης Ἀνάξιππον μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστὰς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀπεκτονῶς, ὀπλίζων δὲ τοὺς Ἀρείους καὶ ξυνάγων εἰς Ἀρτακόανα πόλιν, ἵνα τὸ βασίλειον ᾗν τῶν Ἀρείων· ἐκείθεν δὲ ὅτι ἔγνωκεν, ἐπειδὴν προκεχωρηκότα Ἀλέξανδρον πύθεται, ἰέναι ἐν τῇ δυνάμει παρὰ Βῆσσον, ὥς ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἐπιθησόμενος ὅπῃ ἂν τύχῃ τοῖς Μακεδόσι. ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη αὐτῷ, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ Βάκτρα ὁδὸν οὐκ ἤγεν . . . σπουδῇ ἤγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Σατιβαρζάνην τε καὶ τοὺς Ἀρείους καὶ διελθὼν ἐν δυσὶν ἡμέραις σταδίους εἰς ἑξακοσίους πρὸς Ἀρτακόανα ἦκεν. In the passage of Curtius Νικάνωρ δέ becomes *sed Nicanor*, ἰόντι *iter facienti*, σπουδῇ *strenue*, while *improvisus* stands for the time and distance of the march. Curtius 6, 6, 33–34, 36 Hinc ad Craterum, qui Artacoana obsidebat redit. *ille omnibus praeparatis regis expectabat adventum captae urbis titulo, sicut par erat, cedens. Igitur Alexander turres admoveri iubet: ipsoque adspectu barbari territi, e muris supinas manus tendentes* (Caes. B. C. 2, 5, 3), *orare coeperunt, iram in Satibarzanen,*

defectionis auctorem, reservaret, supplicibus semet deditibus parceret. Rex data venia non obsidionem modo solvit, sed omnia sua incolis reddidit . . . Hac manu adiecta ADIT DRANGAS. *Bellicosa natio est.* Satrapes erat Barzaentes, sceleris in regem suum particeps Besso: is suppliciorum, quae meruerat, metu profugit in Indiam. In sections 25-32 Curtius states that Craterus captured a cliff which Alexander had left for him to besiege. Then without previous mention he speaks of the return to Artacoana, which Alexander reached according to Arr. 3, 25, 5, while sec. 8 of Arrian gives the content of the last sentence quoted from Curtius.

Original Arrian Element in Curtius.

More equivalent passages are given by Dosson, pp. 141-143, and, assuming that Arrian followed Curtius, he argues that Curtius must have made use of Aristobulus and Ptolemy, who furnished the larger part of the contents of the *Anabasis*. The closeness with which the Latin follows the Greek at many points leaves no room for doubt that Curtius made use either of Arrian or of the writers from which Arrian drew. One or the other alternative must be accepted. Against the conclusion of Dosson we advance the theoretical objection that it makes the Roman writer the originator of the method of the Greek in correcting the history of Alexander by introducing in fuller measure the accounts written by Aristobulus and Ptolemy. And of most interest are the little pieces of information common to Arrian and Curtius, and not given by Aristobulus. However, one piece of information from Aristobulus is very noticeable. Arr. 4, 13, 5 relates that some say that Alexander drank till daybreak, but Aristobulus tells of the Syrian woman who led him to drink all the night. Curt. 8, 6, 12 seqq. blends the two statements and modifies the last: *Et ille per ludum bene deos suadere respondit revocatisque amicis in horam diei ferme secundam convivii tempus extraxit.*

The work of Ptolemy seems to have been used but little by the Alexander romancers, and it remained for Arrian to call attention to its real value. This renders of more importance some Ptolemaic passages which Curtius may have gotten through Arrian. The accounts given by Diodorus in 17, 67; by Arrian in 3, 17; and by Curtius in 5, 3, 1-15 agree in the

main, but only Curtius and Arrian mention the part taken by the mother of Darius; and for this piece of information Arrian expressly names Ptolemy as his authority. The last sentence in Curtius is a combination of the facts stated by Arrian combined with the conclusions of Curtius. We have a fourfold description of the seizure and fate of Bessus. Diodorus closes with the word *διεσφενδόνησαν*, and then comes a break in his narrative. Plutarch Alex. 43 has this last word of Diodorus, and then continues *Ὁρθίων δένδρων εἰς ταῦτὸ καμφθέντων ἑκατέρῳ μέρος προσαρτήσας τοῦ σώματος, εἶτα μεθεῖς ἑκάτερον, ὡς ὄρμητο ῥύμη φερόμενον, τὸ προσήκον αὐτῷ μέρος νεύμασθαι. Τότε δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου τὸ μὲν σῶμα κεκοσμημένον βασιλικῶς πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ἀπέστειλε*, a variation of the punishment, which, according to Livy, 1, 29, 10, was inflicted on Mettius. Of this punishment Curtius and Arrian indicate nothing, and both divide the account into two parts. Arrian in 3, 30, 5, from Ptolemy, says that Bessus was sent into Bactria, and he states in 4, 7, 3 *Ἐνθα δὲ ξύλλογον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ξυναγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος παρήγαγεν ἐς αὐτοὺς Βῆσσον· καὶ κατηγορήσας τὴν Δαρείου προδοσίαν τήν τε ῥίνα Βῆσσου ἀποτμηθῆναι καὶ τὰ ὅτα ἄκρα ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐς Ἐκβάτανα ἀγεσθαι, ὡς ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ Μῆδων τε καὶ Περσῶν ξυλλόγῳ ἀποθανούμενον*.

Curtius in 7, 5, 36-43 describes the reception of Bessus by Alexander, and states in sec. 40 the command, *tradi Bessum, ut cruci adfixum mutilatis auribus naribusque sagittis configerent barbari adservarentque corpus, ut ne aves quidem contingerent*. But according to sec. 43 the punishment was deferred, *ut eo loco, in quo Dareum ipse occiderat, necaretur*. In 7, 10, 10 it is stated, *Bactra pervenit. inde Bessum Ecbatana duci iussit. . . poenas persoluturum*, a translation of Arr. 4, 7, 3, given above. With these can be placed Curt. 8, 1, 19=Arr. 4, 17, 3 (Fränkel, pp. 278 and 290), and Curt. 8, 5, 1=Arr. 4, 22, 2 (Fränkel p. 279), the last passage from Curtius being noticeable for the change in the order of the names as given by Arrian.

In 6, 13, 4 Arrian gives an account from Nearchus of the criticisms of Alexander by his friends for the risks he ran in battle. In connection with the incident Arrian remarks *Καὶ ὁμως ὑπὸ μένους τε τοῦ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος τῆς δόξης, καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλης τινὲς ἡδονῆς ἐξηττώμενοι, οὐ*

καρτερός ἦν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων. Curtius puts the criticism into a long harangue by Craterus (9, 6, 6-14), with a still longer reply by Alexander (sections 17-26). In this he develops the idea given by Arrian, saying in sec. 19 ego me metior non aetatis spatio, sed gloriae (see Cic. Archias 11), and in sec. 21 adapts a statement from Cic. Verr. 5, 14, 45 ego vero non deero et, ubicumque pugnabo, in theatro terrarum orbis esse me credam.

We find in Curt. 8, 1, 9 that the Scythian king offered his daughter in marriage to Alexander. Arr. 4, 15, 2 gives the same information, probably following Plut. Alex. 46, where a letter of Alexander to Antipater is given as authority for the statement. Likewise in Plut. Alex. 47, from the same source, mention is made of a movement among the Greek soldiers, a speech of Alexander, and the effect on the soldiers. Curtius writes of all these from 6, 2, 15 to 4, 1 inclusive.

To assume that Curtius independently of Arrian and Plutarch selected these statements out of the mass of writings giving the history of Alexander is to credit him with a care in historical matters which is belied at every turn. But of even more importance is the use made by Curtius of purely Arrian material. Arrian often gives the source for statements found outside of Aristobulus and Ptolemy. This is frequently the λόγος, as in 3, 2, 1; and 4, 28, 1, for which Curtius has *fama* in corresponding passages, 4, 8, 6; and 8, 11, 2. Arr. 4, 1, 1 cites Homer as an authority, and in Curt. 7, 6, 11 *constabat* is given as the basis of the assertion. Akin to this is the statement in Curt. 8, 10, 12 *montis, quem Meron incolae appellant. Inde Graeci mentiendi traxere licentiam, Iovis femine Liberum Patrem esse celatum.* The basis for this criticism is given in an address to Alexander by an Indian in Arr. 5, 1, 6 *Τὸ δὲ ὄρος ὃ τι περ πλησίον ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦτο Μηρὸν ἐπωνόμασε Διόνυσος, ὅτι δὴ κατὰ τὸν μῦθον ἐν μηρῷ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἠρέθη.* Pliny, N. H. 6, 79 has the mild statement *unde origo fabulae Iovis femine editum*, and also Mela 3, 66 *unde Graecis auctoribus ut femori Iovis insitum dicerent aut materia ingessit aut error.* We find in Curt. 5, 5, 3 *nullam virtutem regis iustius quam celeritatem laudaverim*, brought in at a point where Arrian has σπουδῇ, a word which he frequently uses, as in 3, 19, 4, where Curtius at the same point in

the narrative has in 5, 8, 2 *adversus celeritatem*; cf. Florus 1, 41, 15 *quid prius in hac mirere victoria? velocitatem? . . . an felicitatem?* The last words of Curtius in 10, 10, 20 *omnis memoriae ac nomini honos habitus*, seem an epitome of the last chapter of Arrian to the words 7, 30, 2 *μνήμη οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνη*.

We have the work of Diodorus and the Epitome of Pompeius Trogus by Justinus, both without ethical estimates of the work of Alexander. In contrast with these, both Arrian and Curtius give the ethical measure of Alexander, and in this they agree. It takes a score of superlatives for Arrian in 7, 28, 1-3 to express his high regard; and other judgments are scattered throughout the work. In 2, 12, 8; 3, 10, 4; 4, 9, 2; 4, 9, 6; and 6, 26, 3 we find *ἐπαινῶ Ἀλέξανδρον*, or an equivalent; and with a negative in 4, 7, 4; and 5; 4, 8, 5; and 4, 12, 6. There are also other forms of expressing his convictions in regard to the actions of Alexander, as in 3, 18, 12, *Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ σὺν νῶ δρᾶσαι τοῦτό γε Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδὲ εἶναι τις αὕτη Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι τιμωρία*. These passages indicate that he considered the passing of ethical judgments as one of the functions of a historian; and Curtius proceeds along the same line. His final judgment on Alexander in 10, 5, 27 presents, like that of Arrian, a series of laudable elements of character: *vis incredibilis animi, laboris patientia propemodum nimia, fortitudo, liberalitas, clementia, mortis contemptio, gloriaeque laudisque cupido, pietas erga parentes, benignitas, benevolentia, consilium par magnitudini animi, sollertia, modus immodicarum cupiditatum, veneris intra naturale desiderium usus, nec ulla nisi ex permissio voluptas—ingentes profecto dotes erant*. Over against these fifteen "*bona naturae*" are put the few "*vitia vel fortunae vel aetatis*," the desire for divine honors, anger at those scorning to worship him, imitation of the customs of conquered tribes, "*nam iracundiam et cupidinem vini sicuti iuventa inritaverat, ita senectus mitigare potuisset*." This last defect is mentioned again in the shorter catalogue of his virtues given in 5, 7, 1 *ceterum ingentia animi bona, illam indolem, qua omnes reges antecessit, illam in subeundis periculis constantiam, in rebus moliendis efficiendisque velocitatem, in deditis fidem, in captivos clementiam, in voluptatibus permissis quoque et usitatis temperantiam*.

haud tolerabili vini cupiditate foedavit. Here and there throughout the work are scattered references to other virtues and to other vices, as are also some indications of Alexander's return to his better self. It is said of him in 5, 7, 11, after the destruction of Persepolis, paenituisse constat (cf. Plut. Alex. 38); in 8, 8, 23, after the death of Callisthenes, quam crudelitatem sera paenitentia secuta est; and in 8, 2, 3, after the murder of Clitus, paenitentiam solitudo exciebat, the last corresponding to the remark in Arr. 4, 9, 2 ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τοιοῦθε αὐτῷ ἐπαίνῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὅτι παραντίκα ἔγνω σφέτλιον ἔργον ἐργασάμενος.

Plutarch De Alexandri Magni Fortuna aut Virtute, 342 F has Αὐτὸς δ' εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰς μεγάλας ἐλπίδας, beginning with ἐλπίδας, while Curtius closes with *notes* (10, 5, 32). The remainder of the section names most of the traits mentioned by Curtius, and there are then given the predominant characteristics of Cyrus, Agesilaus, Philip, Brasidas, Pericles, Agamemnon, Achilles, Diomedes and Ulysses. This section is summarized by Curtius: Fortitudo, non inter reges modo excellens, sed inter illos quoque, quorum haec sola virtus fuit (10, 5, 27); cf. indolem, qua omnes reges antecessit (5, 7, 1). The comment of Curtius on Fortune, quam solus omnium mortalium in potestate habuit (10, 5, 35), is practically the same as Plutarch's in 340 A καὶ γὰρ εἰ διὰ Τύχην μέγας γέγονε, μείζων ἐστὶν ὅτι τῇ Τύχῃ καλῶς κέχρηται. We do not know of any prototype in characterization for Plutarch and Curtius, as there is no indication of one in either Aristobulus or Clitarchus so far as they are made known to us by Arrian or by Diodorus. In the absence of any such indications the work of Curtius must be judged in the light of its relation to Plutarch and Arrian. The latter evidently gleaned from the former and massed the material. The method of Curtius was the same, but he translated the nouns of Plutarch rather than the adjectives of Arrian. The judgment of the three is a unity in substance, and in form differs only as nouns differ from adjectives.

The description of the Caucasus in Curt. 7, 3, 19-21 seems based on the apparently original collection in Arr. 5, 5. The utilization of this by Curtius is evident not only from individual expressions. *Asiam dividit*: ἀπείργειν τὴν Ἀσίαν; *Taurus ... committitur Caucaso*: (ἐννεχῆς) τοῦτ' ὁ Ταῦρος; *omnia fere*

flumina: ὅσοι . . . λόγον ἀξιοί, but also from the selection and arrangement of the names.

We find in Curt. 9, 5, 21 Ptolemaeum . . . huic pugnae adfuisse auctor est Clitarchus et Timagenes. Sed ipse, scilicet gloriae suae non refragatus, afuisse se missum in expediti-onem memoriae tradidit. Tanta componentium vetusta rerum monumenta vel securitas vel, par huic vitium, credulitas fuit! Curtius in this comment unwittingly criticises himself, and the criticism is certainly based on Arr. 6, 11, 8 Καίτοι αὐτὸς Πτολεμαῖος ἀναγέγραφεν οὐδὲ παραγενέσθαι τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ στρατιᾶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος ἄλλας μάχεσθαι μάχας καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους βαρβάρους. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν ἐκβολῇ τοῦ λόγου ἀναγεγράφθω μοι, ὥς μὴ ἀταλαίπωρον γίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἔπειτα ἀνθρώποις τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικούτων ἔργων τε καὶ παθημάτων ἀφήγησιν. Although Arrian here names Ptolemy, Fränkel, p. 49, assigns this to Eratosthenes, a misinterpretation based on a misinterpretation (p. 47) of the extent of a quotation by Plutarch from this writer.

Arrian in 7, 5, 6 states that for services rendered Nearchus and Onesicritus were crowned, and the latter is designated τὸν κυβερνήτην τῆς νεῶς τῆς βασιλικῆς. He also says in 6, 2, 3 Τοῦ μὲν δὴ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς Νέαρχος αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέιτο, τῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ νεῶς κυβερνήτης <ἦν> Ὀνησίκριτος, ὃς ἐν τῇ ξυγγραφῇ, ἦντινα ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυνέγραψε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐψεύσατο, ναύαρχον ἑαυτὸν εἶναι γράψας, κυβερνήτην ὄντα. Curtius observes the same order in 9, 10, 3; and 10, 1, 10. Diodorus in 17, 104, 3 Τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν στόλον παραδούς Νέαρχῳ καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις τῶν φίλων, though not mentioning Onesicritus seems to make him equal with Nearchus. Pliny has in N. H. 6, 81 Onesicritus classis eius praefectus; and in 6, 96 and 109 Onesicritus et Nearchus, but in reverse order in 6, 124. The statements of Diodorus and Pliny show that the common view was that Onesicritus and Nearchus were equal in command, and it was only from Arrian that Curtius could get the information to correct the mistake. Stronger evidence of the indebtedness of Curtius to Arrian is furnished by Curtius 9, 5, 21 and Arrian 6, 11, 2 Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀναγέγραπται τοῖς ξυγγραφεῦσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παθήματος, καὶ ἡ φήμη παραδεξαμένη αὐτὰ κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους ψευσαμένους ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διασώζει, οὐδὲ ἀφήσει παραδιδοῦσα καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἄλλοις τὰ ψευδῆ, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ξυγγραφῆς παύσεται.

The above remarks would be uncalled for if Curtius had already corrected the mistake. The general remark of Arrian

suggested to Curtius the putting of Clitarchus and Timagenes on the pillory, and he followed the same course as did Plutarch with the statements in regard to the Queen of the Amazons. But more than this. The mention of Ptolemy shows that at this point he has abandoned the accounts of Clitarchus and Onesicritus, and is drawing directly from Arrian 6, 11, 8, the latter part of the passage being expressed in Curtius by the one phrase *in expeditionem*. That the work of Curtius is a composite one is clearly evident. And to this are due some of its defects. Editors call attention to the fact that the lack of clearness in the description of the battle of Issus (3, 9) and of the movements of Darius (5, 8) arises from an attempt to combine the accounts of Diodorus and of Arrian. His account becomes still more involved when there is an added Roman element. Ariobarzanes is mentioned in Arr. 3, 8, 5 as a Persian commander at Arbela, and later (3, 18, 2) as a Persian satrap at the Gates of Persia. Later a man of the same name and son of Artabazus came to Alexander. (Compare in Arr. 2, 11, 8 Arsames, killed at Issus, and in 3, 23, 7 A. son of Artabazus.) If this was the satrap it is passing strange that Alexander did not make use of his services, as he did of those of his father. But according to Curt. 5, 4, 34 Ariobarzanes was killed at Persepolis. The accounts in Diod. 17, 68 and Arr. 3, 18 agree in the main, though that of Arrian is the fuller. They disagree in regard to the time when the bridge was made across the Araxes. Neither mentions the death of the Persian leader. Curt. 5, 4, 33 says that he fled with about forty horsemen and 5000 footmen to Persepolis, was shut out from the city, and *consecutis strenue hostibus*, all were slain. "Craterus quoque raptim agmine acto supervenit (chap. 5, 1). Rex eodem loco, quo hostium copias fuderat, castra communit," then pressed on with the cavalry, arrived at the Araxes at daybreak, and built the bridge. According to Livy 21, 32, 11-13 Hannibal had encamped in the mountains after a fight, and it was proper that Alexander should do the same thing. But the movements of the Persians across the river without a bridge when a Macedonian force was building one, the movement of Craterus, the defeat of Ariobarzanes, the meeting with the mutilated Greeks, are points which Curtius does not harmonize.

From what source came the incentive to produce the work we can not tell. Cicero was familiar with the history of Alexander (see de Div. 2, 66, 135), and this had been given to the Romans somewhat in detail by Pompeius Trogus in the reign of Tiberius.¹ Following writers reproduced some of the episodes. And we are told in Apuleius, Flor. 1, 7, 24 eius igitur Alexandri multa sublimia facinora et praeclara edita fatigaberis admirando vel ausa vel domi provisa, quae omnia aggressus est meus Clemens, eruditissimus et suavissimus poetarum, pulcerrimo carmine illustrare. The subject was ever at hand for any writer who wished to show his skill in developing it.

But the question has been asked whether a writer after the time of Arrian could have used the vocabulary found in the history of Alexander. Curtius went to his work with a mind steeped in the phraseology of classical writers, and it is this which he largely reproduces. The possibility of such a reproduction can be shown by a single illustration. It has been said of Kossuth, "He used the English tongue so newly acquired by him with a rhetorical splendor and force that seems to us . . . little less than supernatural; when one remembers that so idiomatic a power had been won by him alone in a prison cell in a few weeks and with the Bible and Shakspeare's plays for almost his only text-books."

But in Curtius are found constructions and thoughts of a period later than the classical. There are quoted Cic. Rosc. Am. 50, 145 aliena misericordia vivo; and Pliny, Ep. 3, 19, 9 and Pan. 10, 4 iam te providentia deorum primum in locum provexerat. And the two ideas are combined in Curt. 6, 9, 2 deum providentia et misericordia vivo. By the time of Tacitus the *misericordia principis* was clearly recognized, but we can not tell when the transfer to *misericordia dei* (in Curtius necessarily *deum*) was made from the early Christian writers. Curtius was a rhetorician rather than a historian, and to him historical verity was less important than rhetorical coloring, and his success must be judged by the extent to which he attained the latter. The works of Diodorus and of Pompeius Trogus were before him when he wrote and we believe those of Plutarch and of Arrian also. There are in Curtius many personal items which apparently indicate some unknown

¹A. J. P. XXXVIII 20.

source, as the mention of Cleo instead of Anaxarchus in 8, 5. But in Justinus there are several peculiar personal touches, and in 12, 6, 14 an imaginary list of names that came to the mind of Alexander. Judging by Justinus the work of Pompeius Trogus must have been rich in the personal element, and we may safely assume that like the work of Livy it was freely used by Curtius. On this basis we may claim that to Pompeius Trogus is due the list of names given in Curt. 5, 2, 5. The entire chapter giving the events following the stay at Babylon, which Curtius in 5, 1, 36-39 represents as a Capua to Alexander, is based on Diod. 17, 65. Reinforcements came from Antipater (Diod. sec. 1) under the command of Amyntas Andromeni (Arr. 3, 16, 10). Five days later the army entered Sittacene (Diod. sec. 2), and some changes were made in the military organization, τῆς στρατιωτικῆς τάξεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι (Diod. sec. 2), and ἐ. τῆς ἰδιωτικῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διατάξεως (Diod. sec. 4). Curtius incorporates an epitome of Arr. 3, 16, 11, and gives the names of the eight victors in the contests. But sec. 3 has chiliarchas vocabant, based on the mention of the *chiliarchia* in Arr. 3, 29, 7 and 4, 24, 10, and sec. 4 is his own interpretation of the situation. Here we have the blending of material certainly from two secondary sources, and we believe from three, with his own interpretation added. It is by these interpretations that he has given color to the entire work, and has shown that he has an imagination akin to that which enabled Apuleius to portray the career of the transformed Lucius. And there is no need of conjuring up an intermediate *Verfasser*—a veritable *auctor ex coniectura*—to account for changes from sources which Curtius, just as easily as he, might either wittingly or unwittingly have made.

There were added also literary touches to heighten the artistic effect. Vergil wrote in the Georgics 4, 212

*Rege incolumi mens omnibus una est;
Amisso rupere fidem*

and the words were taken as an illustration by Seneca, Ep. 114, 23; and de Clem. 1, 4, 1. Curtius, getting the thought either from Vergil or from Seneca, takes it to adorn the narrative in 4, 15, 24 Curru Dareus, Alexander equo vehebatur.

Utrumque delecti tuebantur sui immemores quippe amisso rege nec volebant salvi esse nec poterant.

If we correctly understand his aim the value of facts would not justify him in gleanng them from many authors. In one passage he mentions Ptolemy, Clitarchus and Timagenes, but Arrian gives the first as authority for the same fact, and Curtius names the others as guilty of the charge made by Arrian. It is possible that either Arrian or Curtius may have changed the order of terms as given by an earlier writer, and a different arrangement may not indicate that Curtius purposely varied from Arrian. But a thorough-going comparison of the vocabulary of Diodorus and of Arrian shows that the two writers were entirely independent of each other. An equally thorough examination of the works of Arrian shows that all the elements have been reduced to uniformity. Because of this there is very little probability that Arrian drew from any source the identical words which Curtius has either translated literally, or varied in the Latin words. We cannot believe that Curtius by using Aristobulus and Ptolemy established a method of procedure for Arrian. As Curtius sets forth material found in Arrian in exactly the same way as he does that which he derived from Livy, the assumption that he followed Arrian seems to be valid. And it is this assumption alone that renders possible a uniform interpretation of all phases of his work.

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III.—STUDIES IN THE VEDA.

7. *The Metaphor of the Car in the Rigvedic Ritual.*¹

The three hymns Rigveda 10. 51–53 form a sort of trilogy, and deal with successive stages in a sacred drama.² It is not a mythological story but rather a sort of theological, ritualistic, mystery-play. It glorifies in mystical, transcendental fashion the performances of the hieratic ritual, as presided over by God Agni, the personified fire of sacrifice, who is the divine hotar, the heavenly representative of the invoking priest. The action centers about the engagement of Agni in this capacity. At the outset, we learn that Agni has gone on strike, hidden himself in the waters, and refused to act as hotar and “oblation-carrier”. The first hymn, 10. 51, is a dialogue between him and the gods, whose spokesman appears to be Varuṇa. The gods seek to persuade Agni to take up (or perhaps resume; but there is no clear indication that Agni had previously been thus employed) the labors which he alone can perform (no sacrifice, of course, is possible without the sacred fire). His fear of suffering the fate of his “elder brothers”, who have worn themselves out in the service of the ritual (vs. 6), is overcome at last by the gods’ acceptance of his none too modest terms (vss. 8, 9). And so in the second hymn (10. 52), we find him being formally invested with the office of hotar. This hymn contains the verses which he speaks on the occasion of the investiture. The climax comes in the third hymn. Most interpreters have held that the actual sacrifice is supposed to be performed at some point in the second hymn. It seems to me, on the contrary, that the sacrifice—which must be considered the culminating point of

¹ For the first six Studies in this series, see A. J. P. 35. 435 ff., JAOS. 35. 240 ff.

² I use these terms in a somewhat figurative sense; I do not mean to commit myself to Professor von Schroeder’s theory that these, and other *samvāda* hymns, were actually intended for dramatic presentation.

the ritualistic mystery—takes place in the third hymn, at 10. 53. 4 and 5. These two verses are spoken by Agni, as hotar, and seem most clearly to accompany the actual offering. All the rest of the stanzas of 10. 53 are attributed by the Anukramaṇī to the gods. I incline to accept this attribution. Vss. 1–3 evidently express the joy of the gods (or at least of the conductors of the sacrifice) over Agni's acceptance of his proper office, which insures a successful sacrifice. Then come Agni's two stanzas (4, 5), just referred to. So far there is essential agreement as to the general interpretation of the three hymns on the part of all scholars, although there is plenty of disagreement as to details.¹

Vss. 6–11 of 10. 53 have given endless trouble to interpreters. Some have believed that they do not belong to the rest of the hymn. The explanation of them which now seems to be most generally accepted is that of Von Schroeder (*Mysterium und Mimus*, pp. 193 ff.), that they portray a sort of ritual procession or pageant, in which the priests and sacrificers take part at the conclusion of the sacred drama above described. This is accepted with more or less hesitation by Oldenberg (*Noten*) and Hillebrandt. These scholars all apparently conceive the car alluded to in vs. 7 to be a ritual processional car (I suppose they are thinking more or less of the cars used in sacred processions in modern Hindu worship); and in vs. 8 they seem to understand that this car crosses over a river.

I cannot but feel that this explanation would be at best a *Verzweiflungsausweg*. Doubtless it is conceivable that a soma-rite or other hieratic performance might have culminated in, or been followed by, such a solemn procession or pageant. But where is any evidence for such a thing in Vedic literature? Furthermore, the explanation can only explain at most vss. 7 and 8. In vss. 9 and 10 there is nothing that can with any plausibility be referred to such a scene. These verses are concerned with some sort of carpentry-work, or the like. And the final verse, 11, is admitted by Von Schroeder himself to be hopeless from his point of view.

¹Oldenberg's *R̥gveda Noten*, ad loc., contain full references to the numerous previous investigations of these hymns. Thereto should now be added Hillebrandt, *Lieder des R̥gveda*, pp. 17 ff.

It is evidently desirable to find an explanation which will fit all the verses in question; which will be consistent with other established or demonstrable facts; and which will show a simple and natural connexion between these verses and the first part of the hymn. Von Schroeder's theory seems to me to fail in all three of these respects. Nor has any other more satisfactory theory been advanced.¹

The clue to the true explanation seems to me to be found in vss. 9 and 10, which have been too much neglected by previous interpreters. They read thus:

9. tvāṣṭā māyā ved apāsām apástamo
 bībhrat pātrā devapānāni śāntamā:
 śíśīte nūnām paraśúm svāyasām
 yéna vṛścād étaśo brāhmaṇaspátīḥ.
10. sató nūnām kavayaḥ sām śíśīta
 vāsībhir yābhir amṛtāya tákṣatha:
 vidvāṁsaḥ padā gúhyāni kartana
 yéna devāso amṛtatvām ānaśúḥ.

9. "Tvaṣṭar, the most workmanlike of workmen (most skillful of artisans), shall devise marvelous (supernatural, magical) devices, bringing most wealful cups for the gods to drink from; he sharpens now the ax of excellent metal, with which the swift (? étaśo) Brahmaṇaspati shall hew."

10. "O wise seers (priests, poets?), sharpen now the reliable (axes?? sató), the hatchets with which ye fashion (*zimmern, takṣ*) unto immortality; knowing the secret places, make ye (that) whereby the gods shall attain immortality."

It is abundantly evident that it is some performance of (presumably supernatural or mystical, cf. *māyā*) carpentry, for which in vs. 9 Tvaṣṭar, the divine artisan, is to sharpen the tools, while Brahmaṇaspati is to do the work; while in vs. 10 some persons addressed as kavis are to do both the sharpening and the actual labor of manufacture. The object to be made is not expressed in either verse. But surely it would be a natural guess that some ritual performance is metaphorically compared to carpentry. For Brahmaṇaspati, the "Lord

¹ Oldenberg, in his *Noten*, abandons his own former explanation of these verses (ZDMG. 39. 72).

of Prayer", is the divine poet-priest *par excellence*; and *kavi* is one of the standard words for poet-priest—performer of ritual sacrifice and composer of the accompanying hymns.

Now one of the chief functions of the *tákṣan*, carpenter, in Vedic times was the making of cars and wagons. *Rátha*, car, is one of the regular objects of the verb *takṣ*. It seems, then, not unnatural to guess that the car mentioned in vs. 7 of our hymn, two verses before those quoted, may have something to do with the *takṣ* activity of vss. 9, 10. Vs. 7 reads:

akṣānáho nahyatanotá somyā
 ṣṣkrṇudhvaṁ raśanā́ ótá piṇsata :
 aṣṭāvandhuraṁ vahatābhíto ráthaṁ
 yéna deváso ánayann abhí priyám.

"Tie the axle-holders, O pious ones, and make ready the reins, and decorate them; drive ye hither the eight-seated car, whereby the gods have brought hither (=shall bring hither?) what is pleasant."

If, however, my suggestion of connecting this car with the carpentry-work of vss. 9, 10, is correct, then it is no ordinary human car, certainly. If Brahmanaspati and the kavis are concerned in its manufacture, it is not likely that their handiwork would turn out to be a car of wood such as an earthly carpenter would make for earthly priests to ride in or to drive. Moreover, it has eight *vandhuras*—"seats", or perhaps more accurately "boxes", which means that it is a supernatural and miraculous car, since real cars have only one (the car of the Ásvins and that of Soma have three). The theory, then, of the pageant or procession becomes increasingly improbable. The chief object of this paper is to make clear what this marvelous car was.

All Vedic scholars know, of course, that the comparison of the activities of a poet-priest to those of a carpenter is a standard one. It is sufficient for me to refer to Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, 3. 150 ff., and Bergaigne, *Religion Védique*, 2. 283 f., where ample evidence on this point is collected. The priests are compared to the *Ṛbhus*, and are even called *ṛbhú* outright; and the *Ṛbhus* are carpenters—and especially wagonmakers, *rathakṛt*—*par excellence* (Hillebrandt, loc. cit.;

the epithet *rathakṛt* is not Rigvedic, but is given to them in the ritual literature).

So, quite naturally, a hymn of praise is compared to a car, with obvious reference to the skill and ingenuity required to construct it, RV. 5. 2. 11^{ab}:

etām te stómaṁ tuvijāta vípro
ráthaṁ ná dhīraḥ svápā atakṣam.

"This hymn of praise, like a chariot, O Tuvijāta (Agni), I the seer, wise and skillful, have wrought for thee." Similarly RV. 1. 61. 4^{ab}:

asmā́ id u stómaṁ sām hinomi
ráthaṁ ná táṣṭeva tátsināya.

"Even for him I prepare a hymn of praise, as a carpenter a chariot for a customer." And RV. 1. 130. 6^{ab} (very close to the next but one preceding):

imām te vācam vasūyānta āyávo
ráthaṁ ná dhīraḥ svápā atakṣiṣuḥ.

For other possible instances, see Hillebrandt and Bergaigne, places quoted. Some of the instances mentioned by those scholars are not of absolutely certain validity; e. g. RV. 5. 31. 4 seems to me not to be speaking of a hymn at all.

But this is far from being the end of the story of the metaphor of the car in connexion with the sacrifice. It is used in other ways, and to some extent in connexions where the underlying idea is different. For instance, Soma is compared to a car, again and again (RV. 9. 10. 1, 2; 22. 1; 67. 17; 69. 9; 88. 2; 90. 1; 92. 1; 94. 3), or even called a "car" outright, in two passages (possibly in a third, if Bergaigne is right about 9. 111. 3, see below); RV. 9. 38. 1:

eṣā u syá vīṣā ráthó 'vyo vārebhir arṣati:
gácchan vājam sahasrīṇam.

"Here in sooth rushes along that bull (Soma), a car, through the woolen sieve, going unto thousand-fold sustenance." And RV. 1. 46. 8:

aritraṁ vām divás pṛthú tīrthé síndhūnām ráthaḥ:
dhiyá yuyujra indavaḥ.

"For you two (Ásvins) the broad rudder of heaven (?? on the dubious first pāda cf. Oldenberg, *Noten*, ad loc.), the car at the ford of the streams, (namely) the soma-drops have been yoked up through devotion."¹ Elsewhere (RV. 9. 15. 1; 62. 17) Soma moves in a car.

Why is Soma called a car? *A priori*, one might perhaps guess that there was an allusion to the labor of soma-pressing, or some part of the soma-ritual, compared to the labor of making a car, just as in the case of the hymn compared to a car. But this does not appear to be the case. There is a total lack of evidence pointing in that direction. Neither the word *takṣ*, nor any compound of *āpas*, nor any similar word that might suggest a thought of handicrafts, ever occurs in the vicinity when Soma is compared to a car. On the contrary, there are regularly suggestions of a wholly different sort, showing that it was the *use* of a car, rather than its construction, that led to its comparison with Soma. Undoubtedly the swift motion of the soma-drops (often alluded to) had something to do with it; cf. *arṣati* in 9. 38. 1, quoted above, and similar words in other places (notably 9. 10. 2; does the additional comparison there *bhārāsah kārīṇām iva* mean "wie der Sänger Liederschar" [Grassmann]?; and 9. 22. 1, 2). But quite as important seems to me the third pāda of that same stanza, 9. 38. 1: *gácchan vājam sahasrīṇam*. The Vedic *rātha*, as is well-known, is primarily a war-chariot.² As booty is one of the prime objects of war, so the chariot is a source of wealth. The divine drink Soma brings weal and prosperity of every sort to gods and men; there is no end to the wondrous things it is said to bring about, even aside from the more simple and immediately evident facts that it rejoices the gods who drink it with its exhilaration, and that the offering of it in sacrifices results in prosperity for men. That the poets are at times thinking of the material benefits brought by Soma and by the war-car when they compare the two is indicated by several passages. Thus, RV. 9. 10. 1:

¹Ludwig cannot believe, evidently, that Soma is called outright a "car". He renders: "Ihr habt des himmels breites fahrzeug, an der flüsse furt den wagen; mit dem liede fallen die (soma-) tropfen." But 9. 38. 1 guarantees the epithet (Ludwig there inserts a gratuitous "als").

²Cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 246, 294 f.

prá svāñāso ráthā ivārvanto ná śravasyávaḥ
sómāso rāyē akramuḥ.

"Like sounding cars, like steeds seeking glory (in battle, or in racing—in either case a material prize is at stake), the Somas have gone forward, unto riches."—So RV. 9. 69. 9 (sómāḥ), ráthā iva prá yayuḥ sātīm áccha ("unto booty"); 9. 88. 2:

sá im rátho ná bhuriṣāl ayoji maháḥ puruṇi sātāye vásūni.

"Like a much-conquering car, he (Soma) has been yoked (made ready), in order to win power and many good things."—RV. 9. 90. 1:

rátho ná vájam saniṣyānn ayāsīt.

"(Soma) has gone forth like a car eager to win booty."

I call attention next to a Rigvedic passage which extends in two-fold fashion the application of the car-metaphor to the hieratic ritual. RV. 7. 70. 2:

śiṣakti sá vām sumatís cániṣṭhātāpi gharmó mánuṣo
duroné:

yó vām samudrān sarítaḥ píparty étagvā cin ná suyújā
yujānāḥ.

"This lovely hymn seeks you out (Áśvins); the hot drink has been heated in man's home, which (hot drink) carries you across the seas (streams?) and rivers, being as it were harnessed to the well-harnessed steeds (? *étagva*). Here the word *rátha* is not mentioned. But a car is evidently in the mind of the author; for the *étagvas* (waiving the question of exactly what they are) could be harnessed to nothing else. And it is compared, not to a hymn (though a word for hymn also occurs in the verse), but to the *gharmá* or hot drink. Or rather, the *gharmá* is boldly spoken of as performing the function of a car. And the function here is—to take across streams or seas. Which reminds us that in RV. 1. 46. 8 (also a hymn to the Áśvins! is this an accidental coincidence?) the car, which there is Soma, is spoken of as being *īrthé sín-dhūnām*—"at the ford of the streams". It appears then that in both of these passages the car (Soma, or the *gharmá*) is to

take the *Ásvins* across streams. It is interesting in this connexion to note that in another passage, RV. 10. 116. 9, a *hymn* is sent forth to Indra-Agni "as a boat on a river (or, the ocean)"; *préndrāgnibhyām suvacasyām iyarmi sindhāv iva prérayām nāvam arkāiḥ*.

Apparently, then, any ritual entity may become a vehicle (which is at least sometimes conceived as a "car") for transporting through or across waters. What are these waters? It will probably occur to any Vedic scholar that they might at least conceivably be a figurative term for difficulties or dangers. The Vedic Aryans were no sailors. They dreaded the water. Not only the sea (if they knew it—which is doubtful), but even rivers were thought of primarily as dangerous obstacles to progress. They were things to "get across". And the same words (especially *pr* and *tr* and their compounds and derivatives) which mean "to cross" or "to ferry over" streams, mean also "to get safely through" or "to rescue from" difficulties and dangers. This is so commonplace that it needs no references for proof. It also needs no argument that any ritualistic entity may perform the function of saving from, or "bringing across", dangers and difficulties. In exactly the same way the Buddhists of later times speak of their doctrine as a *yāna*, "vehicle", for crossing over the dangerous "ocean" of the *samsāra*. And of course there are other parallels in later India.

Let us now return for a moment to RV. 10. 53, and consider vs. 8, to which we have not yet referred. It follows immediately the verse 7, which speaks of a chariot. Vs. 8:

śśmanvatī rīyate sām rabhadhvam út tiṣṭhata prá taratā
sakhāyaḥ :
ātrā jahāma yé śśann áśevāḥ śívān vayām út taremābhī
vājān.

"The stony one (fem.) flows; take hold! Arise, cross over forward, O friends. Let us leave here (behind) those that are inauspicious; let us cross over to auspicious nourishments (booties?)." This somewhat cryptic stanza seems to me to be illuminated by AV. 12. 2. 26-28, where the same material is worked over and somewhat expanded:

26. *ásmanvatī riyate sām rabhadvam vīráyadvam prā
taratā sakhāyaḥ :*
*átrā jahīta yé ásan durévā anamivān út taremābhī
vājān.*
27. *út tiṣṭhatā prā taratā sakhāyó 'śmanvatī nadī syan-
data iyām :*
*átrā jahīta yé ásann áśivāḥ śivānt syonān út tare-
mābhī vājān.*
28. *vāiśvadevīm vārcasa ā rabhadvam śuddhā bhāvan-
taḥ śúcayaḥ pāvakāḥ :*
*atikrāmanto duritā padāni śatām hīmāḥ sārvaṇīrā
madema.*

The first two of these stanzas are close paraphrases of RV. 10. 53. 8; vs. 27 is interesting because it proves that "the stony one" is a river. The real point is revealed in vs. 28: "Take ye hold of the *vāiśvadevī* unto splendor, becoming pure, brilliant, splendid (clear); crossing over difficult places, may we revel for a hundred winters with all our heroic sons intact." For *vārcasa* of pāda a, Pāipp. has the very important variant *sūnṛtām*; and the Nirukta 6. 12 quotes the *pratīka* in this form, explaining *sūnṛtām* quite correctly by *vācam*. The *vāiśvadevī* is then a stanza or hymn; and it is *this* that the people addressed are to "take hold of", and that is to "take them across" the river of difficulties and dangers. I think there is no doubt that our Rigvedic passage is to be interpreted in general agreement with this sense. The "stony (river)" is the stream of difficulties and troubles. It is to be crossed in the "car" (of the preceding vs. 7), which is a ritual performance—perhaps narrowly a hymn, but to my mind more probably the whole rite in general. It is this car that the people are to "take hold" of (*sam-rabh*; cf. *ā-rabh* in AV. 12. 2. 28), for the purpose of "crossing over" the stream of difficulties.

The thesis on which my interpretation of RV. 10. 53. 7 ff. rests is this. Through three different avenues, ritual entities came to be conceived as comparable to a car. First, a ritual hymn is so conceived, because of its intricate construction. Secondly, the sacred Soma is so conceived, because of its

swift motion and because, like the war-car, it brings riches. Third, various ritualistic entities (Soma, the hymn, the *gharmá*) are so conceived, because they help people over difficulties and dangers, as a car helps one through a stream. These three avenues converge into the concept of the whole ritual performance as a car. That, I believe, is what we have in RV. 10. 53. 7 ff. Traces of all three sources of the idea are found in these stanzas. In 7d, *yéna devāso ánayann abhí priyám*, the car is thought of as bringing desiderata; also in 8cd *vāja* is the result of its motion. In vs. 8 it is primarily thought of as a means of crossing over the river of difficulties. In vss. 9, 10 it is its intricate construction that is thought of. A prosaic soul, or one not acquainted with Vedic psychology, might object to this order, on the ground that the construction of the car should precede its use. But there would be no trouble about this to a Vedic Hindu. And furthermore, the sacred car of the ritual is eternally in process of construction—since the continuous and complicated processes of the ritual form the very foundation of the figure.

It will naturally be inquired of me whether this is the only reference to the car of the ritual in this inclusive sense. The numerous passages which I have quoted up to this point prove only the use of the metaphor in connexion with various individual ritual entities, from the point of view of one or another of the three avenues of approach mentioned. I believe, however, that the more inclusive concept is found in other places, albeit the different sources of the idea are nowhere else brought out clearly in collocation with each other.

Perhaps the most interesting and certain instance, to my mind, is found in RV. 10. 70. 5. This is an *āpri* hymn, and the fifth verse is addressed to the Doors (of the sacrificial shed). Pādas c and d of this verse read:

uśatīr dvāro mahinā mahádbhir devām rátham rathayúr
dhārayadhvam.

There are difficulties in the interpretation of some of the words. On *rathayúr*, apparently singular but referring to *dvāro*, see Oldenberg's *Noten ad loc.* The precise interpretation of *dhārayadhvam* is not quite obvious. But at any rate

the Doors are asked to establish, or the like (the verb does not matter), "the divine car". In a cut-and-dried *āpri* stanza, this cannot conceivably have any so-called *ākhyāna* content. It must mean something definitely and familiarly ritualistic. I believe it means nothing more nor less than the ritual performance as a whole. In that case, *dhārayadhvam* probably means "establish on a firm basis (the divine car=the sacrificial rite)."

Another hymn which is interesting in this connexion is RV. 10. 101. Grassmann correctly summarizes its purport in his heading "Der Sänger ermuntert die Priester zum Opferdienst". The hymn is highly metaphoric, not to say mystical, in its diction. All commentators have recognized that most of its abundant tropes refer to ritual performance. But among these tropes are some that have not hitherto been clearly explained; and one or two of them belong in the sphere we are now considering. Thus vs. 2b has the figure of the ship that is to "bring across (difficulties)":

nāvam aritrapāraṇīm kṛṇudhvam.

"Make ye (the priests are addressed) the ship that carries across by its rudder (*aritra*)."

The context shows that the ritual of sacrifice or some part thereof can alone be meant; and there is nothing to indicate any special part of it, so that we seem warranted in assuming that it is the sacrifice as a whole. Still more apposite to our present subject is vs. 7, which definitely mentions a car, *rātha*, which can only be the metaphoric car of the sacrifice:

prīṇitāśvān hitām jayātha svastivāham rātham it
kṛṇudhvam.

The priests are still addressed. What possible "weal-bearing car" can they be thought of as "making" (*kṛ*), except the ritual, or some part of it? Again there is absolutely no suggestion in the context that it is to be limited to some particular part of the rite—say the hymn, or the Soma. This whole hymn, 10. 101, is extremely interesting as showing the luxuriance of metaphor which can on occasion be applied to the ritual of sacrifice by the priest-poets.

Another passage which may at least possibly, and I think should probably, be interpreted in this way is RV. 9. 111. 3. It reads:

pūrvām ānu pradīśam yāti cékitat
sām raśmībhir yatate darśató rátho
dāivyo darśató ráthah :
ágmann ukthāni páuṇsyéndram jáitrāya harṣayan :
vájraś ca yád bhāvatho ānapacyutā
samātsv ānapacyutā.

"According to ancient precepts it travels shining; with bright rays the lovely car unites itself, the divine lovely car; the hymns have taken their course, the heroic; they shall exhilarate Indra unto conquest; since ye two, (Indra) and (thy) vajra,¹ are unconquerable—in battles unconquerable." Bergaigne, Rel. Véd. I. 224, understands Soma by the "divine lovely car". And since the hymn is a Soma hymn, this is of course possible. But it seems to me rather more likely that it is more inclusive, and means the ritual performance as a whole, including for instance the "hymns" mentioned in the following pāda (note that they also are spoken of as "going", *ágmann*, cf. *yāti* of pāda a, whose subject is the *rátha*).

It seems to me also extremely likely that the car mentioned in RV. 2. 18. 1 is the sacred ritualistic car, that is the ritualistic performance as a whole. The stanza reads:

prātā rátho návo yoji sásniś cāturyugas trikaśāḥ saptá-
raśmiḥ :
dásāritro manuṣyāḥ svarṣāḥ sá iṣṭibhir matibhī ráñhyo
bhūt.

The hymn is addressed to Indra, and it is usually assumed that this is Indra's car. But the following curious things are to be noted about it. It is "new", and is harnessed "in the morning". It has four *yugas*, three whips, seven reins, and ten *aritrās*, none of which are, so far as I can find, ever said of Indra's car; they remind us of the eight *vandhuras* of the car of RV. 10. 53. 7. (In 6. 44. 24 Soma "has harnessed the

¹ Cf. Edgerton, KZ. 43. 111. This passage is exactly like á yád ruhāva Váruṇaś ca nāvam, quoted there in § 6, and should be added to that passage.

seven-reined car"—which I believe means this same car of the sacrifice. None of the other epithets mentioned are elsewhere used of cars.) And it is to be speeded on by sacrifices and prayers (*iṣṭi* and *matī*). Furthermore it is to be noted that the following verse, 2, speaks in the clearest terms of the starting of the morning sacrificial fire, Agni the hotar. Indra is not mentioned until stanza 3. There, to be sure, we find his car, harnessed as usual to the Haris. It may be that there is some confusion in the mind of the poet (the hymn is a late one, metrically very poor) between Indra's car and the car of ritual performance, so that the two are for the moment approached to each other. But in vs. 1 is he not thinking primarily of the starting of the morning sacrifice, under the metaphor of the car?

I think there are still other passages in which it is at least quite possible that *rátha* has this same metaphoric meaning. But I am unwilling to weaken my case by discussing them in this connexion; for doubtless other interpretations of them would be possible (as indeed I admit other interpretations of the last two passages mentioned are possible). My case does not rest on them. It is enough to have shown, as I believe I have shown, the existence of the ritualistic metaphor of the *rátha*, compared certainly to various ritual entities, and almost with equal certainty to the rite as a whole.

This is the basis of my interpretation of RV. 10. 53. 7 ff. These verses all deal with the ritual car (the utmost limit of reasonable scepticism seems to me to be this, that the car should be identified in the several verses with different elements of the ritual, rather than with the rite as a whole). Thus a unitary interpretation of them all is provided. Abundant evidence has been produced to show that this interpretation, in all its details, is in perfect agreement with the employment of the car-metaphor in other places. Thus the first two of the requirements mentioned above (p. 177), as necessary for any explanation of these stanzas, are provided. As to the third, the connexion with the preceding verses of the hymn, it is very simple and obvious. Agni has been persuaded to take up the work of sacrifice (hymn 51); he has been duly installed as hotar (hymn 52); he has been greeted by the prospective sacrificers, who express

their joy in anticipation of his successful sacrifice (53. 1-3); he has recited the solemn verses (53. 4, 5) with which the hotar precedes or accompanies the actual sacrifice. Now the sacrifice takes place. The remaining stanzas of the hymn are a kind of solemn and joyous recessional paean, glorifying the now established (or reestablished?) rites of sacrifice, and exhorting to their continued, regular performance.

One question remains to be considered. Who speaks the stanzas of 10. 53, aside from 4 and 5, which (as the Anukramanī rightly says) are spoken by Agni? According to the Anukramanī, it is the gods, who have won Agni as priest and installed him. Some scholars accept this attribution as to vss. 1-3, and perhaps 6; I believe all western interpreters have rejected it as to vss. 7 ff. This rejection is entirely unnecessary in the light of my interpretation. There is no reason for doubting the Anukramanī's statement, and I think it should be accepted. The gods are themselves the sacrificers at this mystical, transcendental, rite. Indeed, hymn 52 (vs. 2) seems to indicate this, and even assigns to the Aśvins the office of adhvaryus at the rite (an office which the Aśvins are elsewhere thought of as exercising for the gods). That the gods should themselves offer sacrifice surely need not surprise us. We are clearly on—or across—the threshold of the stage of ideas in which the gods, just as much as men, get what they want by ritual performance, as they constantly do in the later ritualistic literature. By the sacrifice the gods are brought into existence, or obtain immortality (? hymn 53, vs. 10, below), as well as other desiderata. See my translation of vs. 6 of hymn 10. 53, below. That these same gods are the performers of the sacrifice by which the race of the gods is to be produced (vs. 6), or that they use the language a human sacrificer would use and speak of doing homage to the "worshipful gods" (vs. 2), is no more irrational or inconsistent than this whole sphere of religious ideas. Vs. 1 at least seems definitely to refer to the previously narrated winning of Agni by the gods.—If the gods are the speakers, of course the vocatives (*somyāḥ*, *sakhāyāḥ*, *kavayāḥ*) in these verses must refer to them. They must in any case be addressed by the performers of the sacrifice to each other.—There is, of course, no necessary connexion between the correctness of the Anuk-

ramanī's statement and my interpretation of the hymn—which would hold equally well if we should assume, with most previous interpreters, that vss. 7 ff. are spoken by human sacrificers.

I append here my interpretation of the entire triad of hymns, 10. 51–53, so as to show concretely the way in which the stanzas discussed fit on to the whole fabric, and also because my interpretation differs in some other details from previous ones. I do not claim that all the verbal difficulties of the hymns have been solved; but I hope that many of them at least have been brought nearer to solution.

I believe with the Anukramanī that the entire "drama" (for so we may fairly call it, though scarcely in Von Schroeder's sense) has its scene laid in heaven. The speakers are exclusively Agni and the community of gods. Hymn 51 is a dialogue between Agni and the gods (at whose head appears Varuṇa—he may be thought of as their spokesman). Hymn 52 is a monologue by Agni. Hymn 53 is all spoken by the gods except Agni's two verses, 4 and 5.

RV 10. 51. The Winning of Agni.

AGNI SPEAKS THE EVEN STANZAS, THE GODS (PERHAPS THROUGH VARUṆA AS SPOKESMAN) THE ODD ONES.

1. Great was that embryo-sack, and strong, with which enveloped thou didst enter the waters; a certain god saw all thy forms variously, O Agni Jātavedas.

2. Who saw me? Which one of the gods was it that completely spied my various forms? Where, in sooth, O Mitra-Varuṇa, dwell all of Agni's flaming brands, that travel to the gods? (Rhetorical question="they are not").

3. We sought thee variously, O Jātavedas, thee entered into the waters, into the plants, O Agni; even thee Yama did find out, O bright-rayed one, from a distance of ten days' journeys shining across.

4. I, O Varuṇa, came here in fear of the sacrificial service, that the gods might not thus [=as my brothers] employ me at it; so my forms entered in to rest variously [niviṣṭāḥ, practically="stopped working"]; I, Agni, know nothing of this business [=will have nothing to do with it].

5. Come hither! The god-serving man is desirous of sacrificing, and has made ready; in darkness thou dwellest, Agni! Make passable the paths leading to the gods; carry the oblations, being graciously disposed.

6. Agni's elder brothers have plied this occupation (attended to this matter), as a charioteer along the road; through fear of this, Varuṇa, I went far away—I shrank away like a wild buffalo from the bow-string of the archer (or, from the discharge of the bow-string?).

7. We grant thee life unaging, Agni, that thou mayest be employed without being injured, Jātavedas; so be gracious and carry to the gods their portion of the oblation, O well-born!

8. Give me the fore-offerings and the after-offerings to be mine alone, and the nutritious part of the oblation; the ghee of the waters and the man of the plants, and let Agni have long life, O gods. [Translation of pāda c purely mechanical. I do not think *pūruṣam cāṣadhīnām* is now capable of interpretation. Cf. BṛhD. 7. 74, *ghṛtām some ca yaḥ paśuḥ*—which seems to be a paraphrase of this and which means surely “the victim at the soma-sacrifice” (so Macdonell).]

9. Thine be the fore-sacrifices and after-sacrifices exclusively, and the nutritious parts of the oblation; thine, Agni, be this entire sacrifice; let the four directions (the whole world) bow before thee.

RV. 10. 52. *Agni's Installation as Hotar.*

AGNI SPEAKS THROUGHOUT.

1. Ye all-gods, instruct me, how, and what should be my object in mind, as I have been chosen hotar here and take my place (am installed). Declare unto me how your portions—by what path I am to bring the oblation to you.

2. I have taken my seat as the hotar best at sacrificing; all the gods, the Maruts, urge me on. Day by day the office of adhvaryu is yours, O Aṣvins; the *brahmān* and the firewood are on hand—here is the offering for you (to offer).

3. This hotar here (=myself), is he in truth Yama's? Whom does (=should) he have in mind (as beneficiary of the sacrifice) when the gods anoint him (with ghee)? Day by day he is born, month by month (at the daily and monthly offerings); so the gods have appointed him oblation-bearer.

4. The gods have appointed me oblation-bearer, when I was slunk away (? worn out?), enduring many toils (difficulties), (saying): "Agni the wise shall arrange the sacrifice for us, the sacrifice in five courses (= ? Hillebrandt, perhaps the *ṣaḍahas*, weekly offerings, five to the month), threefold (= 3 *sávanas*), of seven threads (= ? Hill., perhaps the seven principal types of soma-sacrifice)."

5. I would win for you by the sacrifice immortality, blest with heroes, that I may make free scope for you, O gods; I would place the *vájra* in Indra's arms; then he shall win all these battles.

6. The three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine gods have done reverence to Agni. They have sprinkled him with ghee, they have strewn *barhis* for him; then verily they have ordained him (made him take his seat) as hotar.

RV. 10. 53. *The Sacrifice Performed.*

AGNI SPEAKS VSS. 4, 5: THE GODS ALL THE REST.

1. Whom we have desired with our minds, he has come here, knowing the sacrifice, well-acquainted with its various parts. Let him conduct the sacrifice for us, the best sacrificer among the gods; let him, we say, take his seat (as hotar) near at hand, before us.

2. He has been won as hotar, the best sacrificer at taking his place (as hotar) [instr. of manner, "by way of installing himself"?]; upon the well-arranged offerings of food he has verily cast his eye; come, let us sacrifice unto the gods that are worthy of sacrifice, let us adore with ghee those that are worthy of adoration.

3. Effective he has made the god-feast for us to-day; we have found the secret tongue of the sacrifice (Agni). He, *Āyu* (the lively, restless), has come, clothing himself fragrant; auspicious has he made the summons to the gods for us to-day.

4 (Agni:) Let me devise this as the first of my solemn utterance to-day, (namely that) by which we gods shall conquer the Asuras. Ye food-eating ones and worthy of sacrifice, ye Five Tribes (must mean gods of some sort), enjoy my hotarship (offering, performance of the office of hotar).

5. (Agni:) Let the Five Tribes enjoy my hotarship, they that are produced from the Cow (Earth? Aditi?), and worthy

of sacrifice. Let the earth protect us from earthly trouble, let the mid-air protect us from heavenly.

6. Extending the thread (of sacrifice), do thou (Agni) follow the shining beam of the firmament (the sun; i. e., perform the round of daily sacrifices); guard the bright (sacrificial) paths, made by devotion; weave ye (Five Tribes? gods?) without knots the work of the singers; be thou (Agni) a Manu ("Adam", progenitor of a race), and generate (by sacrifice) the race of the gods (who owe their existence to the sacrifice, according to ritualistic theory).

7. Tie on the axle-bindings too, O pious ones; prepare the reins, and decorate them; drive hitherward the eight-seated (for 8 Ādityas?) car, by which the gods have brought (shall bring) what is pleasant hither.

8. The stony (river, of distress) flows; take ye hold (of the saving car of sacrifice)! Arise, cross over forward, friends! Let us leave here (behind) those that are inauspicious; let us cross over to auspicious nourishments. [A member of my seminar, Dr. W. N. Brown, suggests that this is a concrete reference to the difference in the sort of nourishment obtained by the gods *before* and *after* the establishment of the rites with Agni as hotar. This is quite possible, though it is also possible that it is more general and vague; in the case of such a two-sided statement it is not necessary to suppose that any definite or actual "inauspicious nourishments" are thought of; this might be simply a negative way of saying what is immediately said in positive fashion, "let us cross over to auspicious nourishments".—*Vāja* may of course mean desiderata of practically any sort.]

9. Tvaṣṭar, the most skilful of artisans, shall devise marvelous (supernatural, magical) devices, bringing most wealful cups for the gods to drink from; he sharpens now the ax of excellent metal, with which the swift (*étaśo*) Brahmanaspati shall hew (the car).

10. O wise seers, sharpen now the reliable (axes, sc. *paraśūn*? Or else *sató* adverb, "in unison", and *vāśis* understood as object of the verb), with which hatchets ye fashion (the car) unto immortality (or, ambrosia, nectar, cf. *vāja* in vs. 8; but I think it probably refers to the winning of immortality by the gods through the sacrifice, cf. vs. 6); knowing

the secret places, make ye (that car of ritual) whereby the gods (shall) attain immortality.

11. They shall set the Maiden (Uṣas) in the body (interior; sc. of the car), her son (Agni) in its front, with mystic (hidden, cryptic) intelligence and words (mind and tongue). He (Agni) shall always be well-disposed towards the sacrificial performances; seeking for booty, the hymn assuredly wins the victory. (Hillebrandt, *Lieder des R̥gveda*, ad loc., gives a hint leading to the correct interpretation of this stanza.)

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IV.—THE OLD APOLLO TEMPLE AND LIVY XL, 51.

The ancient wall under Santa Maria in Campitelli which is now usually considered to belong to the podium of the old Apollo temple was described by Delbrück in 1903¹. At the end of his study he ventured to give an outline of the development of Roman building methods up to the Punic war, using as the cornerstone of his structure this very wall which he boldly assigned to 431 B. C., the date of the original temple. Since Delbrück, now generally recognized as the chief authority on early Roman construction, has in his later works continued to test the age of early buildings by comparing their technique with that of the Apollo temple, it may not be amiss to state that there are serious reasons for doubting his dating. This question, moreover, involves not only a sound method of dating the pre-literary monuments of Rome, but also the reading and interpretation of Livy XL, 51.

For measurements, plans, and descriptions Delbrück may in general be relied upon. However it must be noted that he occasionally misnames the stone of the lining, "sperone", (i. e. lapis Gabinus), a matter of some importance since the question of the date hinges upon the question of the materials involved; that he locates the temple on his plan too near the Theatre of Marcellus; and finally that he fails to notice that it is possible to estimate the thickness of the wall. Since the grey core of the wall is lined on both sides by a brown stone, and since the brown stone headers are fairly uniform in length, the thickness of the whole may be estimated by measuring through to the inner end of a block of the inner lining where it is exposed at a deep cutting in the wall. Estimating in this way, I found the wall to be about seven and one-half feet thick, a thickness which ought to preclude any doubt of its being a temple podium.

The wall is unique in construction. A core, consisting of low blocks of the flaky grey tufa ("cappellaccio") which was

¹ Der Apollotempel auf dem Marsfelde.

regularly quarried at the Lautumiae and elsewhere for the foundations of early temples, is lined on both sides with similar low blocks of a hard, fine-grained, brown tufa. That the flaky variety was regularly cut into low slabs (25-33 c) was due to the difficulty of procuring and handling large blocks of this easily-cleft material. That the far solider brown tufa was here for once cut to the same measure and system seems to me due to a restoration wherein the new material was shaped to fit into the spaces of the "cappellaccio" blocks which it replaced.

The striking fact is that this brown stone of the restoration proves upon careful examination to be none of the varieties obtainable in the hills on the left bank of the Tiber, although at the foot of the Capitoline hill, within a stone's throw of this very wall, there was in the fifth century an abundance of brown stone quite as good in quality as that used. The source of the brown tufa of the Apollo temple, however, is down the river, in the middle reaches of the south end of Monte Verde, a quarry which seems not to have been worked until the second century B. C. In fact the earliest datable structure in which I have as yet found it is the concrete podium of the Concord temple of 120 B. C. The restoration of the Apollo temple, therefore, should be placed in the second century, though probably earlier than 150 since concrete was not used in it.

Assigning Roman quarries to definite periods may seem to be a hazardous undertaking but it proves by no means impossible. In discussing the history of the Servian wall elsewhere ¹ I have offered a new method; here I can only say that after tracing the building stones of the Republican period to their sources I feel that certain general principles may be established. Until the time of the Gallic fire the Romans regularly used the flaky grey tufa that constitutes the lowest volcanic stratum in the Roman hills and that was quarried especially at the Lautumiae below the Arx. The capture of Veii and Fidenae placed at their disposal the solider and yet easily worked light-yellow tufas below and above Prima Porta, a stone which was barged down for the rebuilding of the Servian wall and which was used almost exclusively for a hundred and fifty years. Then this also fell into disfavor for exposed work because of its

¹ See *Am. Jour. Arch.*, 1918, 181.

failure to resist long weathering, and the Roman builders began at last to use the hard brown tufas of their own hills. However, the Capitoline and the Palatine were by that time so well occupied by buildings that their nearest ledges could not be used. The Romans accordingly resorted to the Aventine, the ledges near the Ponte Nomentano on the Anio, and those of Monte Verde on the right bank of the Tiber, as being the next most accessible hills, and these have been freely used ever since. It is the peculiar stone of Monte Verde, recognizable by the abundance of yellowish green particles, which the restorer of the Apollo temple used.

Livy, I think, will furnish the precise date of the restoration, if we may accept a passage upon which editors for more than a century have committed many unprovoked atrocities. Livy says (XL, 51, 3): *Fulvius locavit . . . post Spei ad Tiberim aedem Apollinis Medici*. The date is 179 B. C. Hermann began the mutilation of this inoffensive passage by deleting "Apollinis Medici". But the Apollo of the Campus was a healing god, was introduced *pro valetudine populi* (Livy, IV, 25, 3), was addressed by the Vestals as "Apollo Medice", and in the three-year pestilence that preceded the restoration of 179 he had received special devotions for the public health (Livy, XL, 37). Livy here gave him the distinguishing epithet and defined his temple as *post Spei ad Tiberim*¹ because the splendid *Aedes Apollinis in Palatio* recently built would otherwise have come to mind. The conjecture of Delbrück that an otherwise unknown temple may be meant is disposed of by Asconius' statement that the temple *extra Portam Carmentalem inter forum holitorium et Circum Flaminium* was the only temple of Apollo in existence in Cicero's day (Asc. ad Cic. in Tog. Cand.). Other editors² and archaeologists propose other emendations, objecting that if the well-known Apollo temple was restored in 179 we ought to have some notice of its previous destruction. Our sources for the second century, however, are never so full that we dare assume an error whenever they fail

¹ The temple of *Spes ad Tiberim* also needed a full name to distinguish it from the well-known *Spes Vetus* on the Esquiline.

² Preller, Roscher and Zingerle read *aliam* (sc. porticum) . . . post *Spei ad Tiberim* <et ad> *aedem Ap. Med.*; Becker and Weissenborn-Müller: *aliam* (sc. porticum) . . . post *Spei ab Tiberi ad aedem Ap. Med.*

to satisfy the avid curiosity of modern scholars. As for the objection to the word *locavit* when a mere restoration is involved, it will be remembered that Augustus in his *Res Gestae* ¹ used the word *feci* of temples which he apparently only restored. It is indeed wholly probable that after the long pestilence of 182-180 the people insisted upon a complete satisfaction of their god of healing, and that the next succeeding censors restored the temple even though it was still upon its podium. I think therefore that the MS reading of Livy XL, 51, 3 should be restored, and also that the wall of the Apollo temple which now exists dates not from 431 but from the building operations of 179 B. C. If this be true, we must reject histories of Republican construction which are based upon the supposition that the technique of this wall is representative of fifth century work.

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¹ Cf. for example chapter XIX: aedes Jovis Feretri (cf. Nepos, Att. 20), aedes Minervae, etc. in Aventino.

V.—TROS TYRIUSQUE AGAIN.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur (Aen. i. 574). I was glad that Dr. Sihler, in his note on this verse, was able to retain *agetur* as Virgilian. Nonius Marcellus, he says, baulks at *agetur*; Nonius merely misquotes, giving us *habetur*, a reading which Dr. Sihler knows cannot be accepted, but which leads Guyet to read *habetor*, surely a strange pearl of poetic diction. True, we cannot write *agere aliquem* for 'to deal with anyone', but *agere equum* 'to drive a horse' is evidently current in sermo Latinus: Horace gives us: aut olitoris aget mercede caballum (Ep. i. 18, 36); and when Virgil speaks of: Liber agens celso Nysae de vertice tigres (Aen. vi. 805), of course the tigers are harnessed to his car. While in ordinary Latin discourse we should expect to find *agere equos* but *regere cives*, in poetry Ovid gives me: Lunaque nocturnos alta regebat equos (Trist. i. 3, 28). When in poetry I find beside *agere equos*, the phrase *regere equos* as implying a more thorough mastery in direction on the part of the driver, in return I expect to find beside *regere cives* a phrase *agere cives* in use as implying a greater majesty on the part of the ruler; and *agi* seems to be thus used in the verse in question. Servius confirms me in this explanation of *agetur*; his note is: *agetur* regetur. Dr. Sihler is wrong in saying that he baulks at *agetur*; he is even 'more than usual calm.' True, Henry Nettleship will not accept Servius' translation; "it is just possible," he says, "that Virgil may be reviving an old sense of the word=to weigh; comp. *exigo*, *examen*; a sense which perhaps also appears in the phrase; *agitur aliquid*, something is at stake (lit. 'is in the balance')." But when in interpreting Virgil's Latin I have to choose between Servius and Mr. Henry Nettleship, I am not long in doubt.

But Dr. Sihler would read *Tros Tyriusve*, citing as his buttresses: *dolus an virtus* (Aen. ii. 390), *Tros Rutulusne fuat* (Aen. x. 108), where he changes *ne* to *ve*, and *Tros Italusque*

(Aen. xi. 592), where he changes *que* to *ve*. If we accept Ribbeck's readings in these three verses, they give no support to Dr. Sihler's *Tros Tyriusve*, which, let me add, has no support from Servius or the MSS; on the contrary *Tros Italusque* gives very strong support to the reading as it stands. The MS tradition seems to favor strongly *Tros Rutulusne*, which Ribbeck accepts; but as regards *Tros Italusque*, Servius reads *Tros Italusve*, making Dr. Sihler's case much stronger. But while Servius is to be followed in his translations of Virgil as a rule, he has an evident tendency to follow the easier reading.

The difficulty here is partly in the use of *que*, where we might expect *ve*. What is the primary meaning of *que*? Ribbeck in his study on the Roman Particles makes *neque* a later form of *nequi* 'nohow,' and its use in the poets and in Tacitus strongly confirms his view. But he is wrong in separating the *que* in *neque* from the enclitic *que*. The use of *neque* in; *quos neque Tydides nec Larissaeus Achilles (domuere)* (Aen. ii. 197), 'whom nohow Tydeus' son, nohow Achilles of Larissa subdued,' seems parallel to the use of *que* in: *despiciens . . . terrasque iacentes litora* (Aen. i. 226), 'looking down on the level lands somehow, on the shores somehow,' and this seems parallel to the use of *ut* in: *ego Catonem tuum ut civem, ut senatorem, ut imperatorem . . . probo* (Brut. 294). But if this is true, *que* is not in its origin necessarily conjunctive in meaning; and we find it used for *ve* in: *praecipitare iubent subiectisque urere flammis* (Aen. ii. 37), just as *ve* is used for *que* in: *non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacaenae, culpatusve Paris* (Aen. ii. 602).

But a greater difficulty, perhaps, lies in the use of *Tros Tyriusque* with a singular verb, supposing that *que* here means 'and' rather than 'or,' which I am inclined to think is the case. The same difficulty was felt by many a teacher of grammar when he read in the Recensional: 'the tumult and the shouting dies.' We see the same construction in: *religio et fides anteponatur amicitiae* (Cic. Off. iii. 10, 46). 'Close union often amounts to unity,' Gildersleeve tells us, and naturally the poet would make this weigh with Dido in her endeavor to persuade the Trojan to unite with the Tyrian in founding her new town; she would gladly present the two as one under her future sway.

It is true that at times the pair in Latin, once expressed by the dual, passes to the plural, as in: Pallas, Evander, in *ipsis omnia sunt oculis* (*Aen. x. 516*), where *oculis* is for the eyes of Aeneas; but at times the pair of eyes is to the Roman poet *oculus*, as in: *gaude quod spectant oculi te mille loquentem* (*Hor. Ep. i. 6, 19*), 'rejoice because a thousand pairs of eyes look upon you while you speak.'

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Latin Sentence Connection. By CLARENCE WHITTLESEY MENDELL, Ph. D. Yale University Press, 1917.

Latin Sentence Connection is the third in a series of Yale studies on sentence connection which were suggested by Dr. Morris, the first two studies being Dr. Mendell's Sentence Connection in Tacitus (1911) and Miss Nye's Sentence Connection, Illustrated Chiefly by Livy (1912). In fulfilling the promise of his earlier work Dr. Mendell has based his results in his present work, as he tells us in the Preface, p. vii, "in part on my own complete collection from Tacitus of the instances of adjacent sentences not connected by conjunctions; in part on the results of a special study of Cato and Sallust and the younger Pliny entire, of some three hundred pages of Cicero and about the same amount of Seneca, of three books of Caesar, three of Livy, four of Quintilian, and four lives of Suetonius; in part on material drawn from casual reading," the collection including over fourteen thousand cases. The object of the investigation, he tells us, is "to discover a more fundamental standpoint for the consideration of sentence relations, and to do away with the somewhat artificial distinction between coordinate and subordinate by means of a more thorough understanding of the nature and origin of each."

The book is divided into eight chapters, I and II being introductory. In Chapter I Mendell deals in a general way with the psychological processes underlying the making of sentences and the expression of their interrelation. He warns particularly against the misconception of each sentence as an isolated unit, and states that it is the failure to recognize that all adjacent sentences are related (at least in the thought of their author), and also the tendency to overemphasize conjunctional connection, as if this were the only means of sentence connection, that make way for his investigation.

In Chapter II the means employed to express sentence relation are divided roughly into three groups "according to the chief element which gives to each its power to express thought relations and so convey them to the reader." These three groups are: I, Repetition (ex. "The man has a *dog*. The *dog* is yellow;" or "If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold Thou art there"); II, Change (ex. "*John* went sailing. *William* was afraid"); III,

Incompleteness: (a) Retrospective (ex. "*Afterwards* John sat down"), (b) Anticipatory (ex. "He spoke the *following* words"), (c) Parenthetic (ex. "John, *I tell you*, went sailing"). This three-fold division is of course not hard and fast. More than one element may be made use of to express connection, and it is not always easy to tell which has the determining influence. For instance, in the second example given under I, not only is there verbal repetition in the second "Thou art there," but there is functional repetition in the second "if" and there is change in the contrast of "I ascend up into heaven" with "I make my bed in hell."

Chapters III-VII are taken up with the consideration of the several groups and sub-groups enumerated above: Repetition, Retrospective Incompleteness, and Change in III, IV, and V, respectively, all being retrospective in character; Anticipatory Incompleteness in VI; and Parenthetic Incompleteness in VII.

It would be impossible in the space allotted to follow Mendell carefully through all the phases of his discussion. However, a brief survey of one typical and significant chapter may serve at least to show his method of analysis and treatment, and such a chapter is the third.

This chapter is devoted to Repetition. Of this there are two different general types, Repetition of Content and Repetition of Function. An example of the first is the following from Caesar, B. G. III. 18. 7: *ad castra pergunt. Locus erat castrorum editus*, etc. Here *castrorum*, though in a different case, repeats in its entirety the content of *castra* of the first sentence. As an example of the second type may be taken the following from Livy XXIII. 9. 5: *sed sit nihil sancti, non fides*, etc.; *audeantur infanda*, etc. Here there is repetition of function, *sit* and *audeantur* having but one thing in common, their subjunctive force expressing a hypothetical command.

There is also another distinction between the two types. In the first example the second sentence expresses a new idea logically proceeding from the thought expressed in the first, whereas in the second example the second sentence, though presenting a new idea, does not proceed logically from the first sentence, but is rather parallel with it, proceeding, as did the first sentence, from something antecedent to both sentences. These two types illustrate well two of the three relations which a sentence may have to the one immediately preceding it: first, it may be, and usually is, logically subsequent; second, it may be logically coincident; third, it may be, by reversal of the usual order, logically antecedent.

Of the simple types of Repetition of Content and of Function illustrated above Mendell points out many variations and extensions too numerous to set down here. One important extension, however, may serve as an interesting example. At

the opening of Caesar's *Bellum Alexandrinum* are the sentences *Bello Alexandrino conflato, Caesar Rhodo atque ex Syria Ciliciaque omnem classem arcessit; Creta sagittarios, equites ab rege Nabataeorum evocat; tormenta undique conquiri et frumentum mitti, auxilia adduci iubet*. At first glance there are apparently no repetition and no sign of sentence relation; and, indeed, the association is not immediate. Mendell points out, however, that there are words in the second sentence which fall naturally into a fairly obvious common category with words in the first, that between the concept behind the first word or phrase and that behind the second, or repeating, word or phrase there is an intermediate concept embracing both. Thus *Creta* at the beginning of the second sentence is in a common category with *Rhodo*, *Syria*, and *Cilicia* of the first, not only as a place, but also as a Roman dependency, so that there is after all a well defined element of repetition in the use of *Creta*. Again, behind *classem* in the first sentence and *sagittarios*, *equites*, *tormenta*, etc. of the second, is the larger concept of military forces. Likewise, in Livy XXXIV. 52. 10, *Ipse deinde Quinctius in urbem est invectus. Secuti currum milites frequentes*, the *currum* of the second sentence takes up part of the picture suggested by *est invectus*.

On the matter of Repetition of Content Mendell concludes that this method of connection is evidently used to indicate that the sentence in which the repetition occurs is logically subsequent to that from which the concept is repeated. He finds that instances of such repetition fall into three types of relationship: first, the second sentence may indicate merely an additional item; second, it may indicate the result of the first sentence; third, it may indicate the explanation of the first sentence. Which of these three relationships is intended is, of course, not always clear, and it was to insure greater clearness and precision that the conjunctions *et*, *nam*, *igitur*, etc., came to be used as supplementary to the more fundamental means. Mendell reminds us that normally these conjunctions only make obvious and precise a relation which is already expressed.

Repetition of Function is represented by the repetition of a conjunction, of a noun or pronoun, usually in exactly the same form and the same relative position, of a verb,—all these being examples of what later came to be the figure called anaphora,—and by repetition of verb function, as already seen in the example from Livy XXXIII. 9. 5, or in the familiar *veni, vidi, vici*. The fundamental relation indicated by repetition of function is always the same: the sentences are always logically coincident. In consequence, it is not surprising to find that the conjunctions used with this kind of repetition are very few, *et*, *que*, and *aut*.

In like manner Mendell continues with a thorough discussion of the other means of expressing sentence relation. Perhaps the simple examples in English of these various means given at the beginning of this review will be sufficient at least to suggest the kind of examples in Latin from which Mendell draws his conclusions; and there is space only to indicate these conclusions.

From his consideration of Retrospective Incompleteness, the subject of Chapter IV, Mendell concludes that the type of sentence relation is not determined by the incompleteness itself,—“the incompleteness serves to call attention to the relation rather than to define it,”—but that it is determined rather by the element of Repetition of Content almost always present in Retrospective Incompleteness, whether semantic or functional; and therefore it will be found that in most cases of Retrospective Incompleteness the second sentence is subsequent logically to the first.

In Chapter V, devoted to a discussion of Change, Mendell calls attention to the fact that in sentences in which Change is used as the means of expressing relation, the principles of Repetition and Incompleteness frequently occur. This, he says, has led at times to the discarding of Change as a means of expressing relation; but he points out that the other means simply *indicate* or *call attention* to the relation, which is *defined* by the principle of Change. He adds that, of course, inasmuch as semantic change occurs in practically every sentence, it is necessary that the change, in order to define the relation, should be abrupt enough to compel attention and should occur between words essentially or at least temporarily in some common category. For example, “It is a glorious day. Phalaris was a tyrant,” obviously have no relation, certainly not in a logical, sane mind, whereas “The day is *heavy*. My heart is *light*,” fulfill all the requirements. Mendell finds that in all the examples of semantic change the type of relation is the same: the two clauses are in contrast with each other (this determined by the change), and are usually coincident (this determined by repetition of function). Change of Function Mendell finds to be on the whole insufficient for an accurate defining of relation.

For examples of Anticipatory Incompleteness, the subject of Chapter VI, Mendell refers particularly to the use of subordinating conjunctions, demonstratives, comparative adjectives and adverbs, such verbs as *licet*, *oportet*, *necesse est*, and such adjectives as *alter* and *ceterus*. The clause in which the element of anticipatory incompleteness occurs, whether the incompleteness is semantic or functional, is always logically antecedent to the clause following. Mendell calls particular attention to the fact that the expression of sentence relation

in the first of two sentences, rather than in the second, as in the case of all the other means considered, represents deliberate preparation on the part of the speaker or writer and is not simple or naive, but is a conscious rhetorical development.

Parenthetic Incompleteness, discussed in Chapter VII, may be illustrated by sentences in which verbs such as *dico*, *inquam*, *quaeso*, etc., are interjected into statements or questions. Numerous examples will readily be called to mind. Such a parenthetical interjected phrase indicates an idea logically antecedent to the clause in which it is inserted, and Mendell points out that "the fact that syntactically it developed into the main clause, while the clause to which it lent tone, the one into which it was injected, became the subordinate clause, is only a further illustration of the essential difference between logical and syntactical relation."

In his Conclusion, Chapter VIII, Mendell briefly recapitulates, and in addition suggests certain lines along which, in the light of the contribution made by his present work, the origin and development of the subordinating conjunction may be studied. It is to be hoped that such a study will be undertaken with the same thoroughness and soundness of judgment as that displayed by Dr. Mendell.

As to actual results, there is no doubt but that Dr. Mendell attained his object of discovering a more fundamental point of view for the consideration of sentence relation. We shall no longer look to the conjunctions as the only signs, and asyndeton and polysyndeton take on a new and more significant aspect. It is questionable, however, whether we are yet ready to do away with the distinction between coordinate and subordinate. Our point of view may have to be shifted, but the distinction still remains, and artificial though it may be and the outgrowth of a more fundamental distinction, it is undoubtedly a distinction felt by and influencing all artistic writers.

THOMAS DEC. RUTH.

Deux érudits gallois, John Rhys et Llywarch Reynolds. Par H. GAIDOZ. Extraits de la Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement, 1917 (5 numéros). Paris, Société de l'enseignement supérieur, 96 Boulevard Raspail, 1917. 8°.

This series of articles by a distinguished Celtic philologist—known above all as the founder and principal editor of the *Revue Celtique*—is a tribute to the memory of two of his fellow-scholars and personal friends. John Rhys was born at Abercaero (Wales) in 1840 and died at Oxford on December

17, 1915, while L. Reynolds, born at Merthyr Tydfil (Wales) in 1842, died on March 12, 1916. In addition to their being fellow-countrymen, nearly of the same age, and interested in the language, literature and folklore of their native country, they were at one time fellow-students in Jesus College, Oxford, and life-long friends. Yet the name of John Rhys is by far the better known of the two. His influence in advancing and encouraging the study of Celtic philology in England has been second only to that of Whitley Stokes, while he probably had no equal among Celtic scholars in England as to popularity and the reception of outward honors.¹ It is only natural then that the author should devote fifty-four pages² to reviewing the life and works of Rhys as against the four pages concerned with Reynolds.

Professor Gaidoz occasionally refers to his study (p. 196) as "*une bibliographie critique de l'oeuvre de Rhys*." He might have called it as well a critical contribution to the history of Celtic philology. For notwithstanding the wealth of bibliographical references,³ the interests of the bibliographer (and the biographer) remain subordinated—as they should be—to those of the investigator. The author, in other words, has not been satisfied with giving a sketch of Rhys's life and an account of his numerous writings. He has rather laid stress on the linguistic, mythological, prehistorical and ethnographical problems, in which Rhys was especially interested. The theories set forth and advocated by Rhys are confronted with those endorsed by other scholars, and an attempt is made to arrive at an estimate as to their relative value. Many of these difficult problems do not yet admit and perhaps will never admit of a definite solution. But even with regard to these, much will have been achieved, if we recognize that there is no evidence for certain views widely accepted and looked at as up-to-date results of prehistoric researches. The manner in which the points at issue are handled by Prof. Gaidoz,

¹ He became, in 1877, the first incumbent of a chair for Celtic philology created (for him) at the University of Oxford and was subsequently elected Master of Jesus College, Oxford, in 1895. In 1907 he was knighted, and four years later, made a member of the Privy Council.

² They consist of seven chapters entitled: I. D'Abercaero à Oxford (pp. 12-15); II. Grammaire comparée et philologie galloise (pp. 15-21); III. Ethnologie (pp. 104-114); IV. Mythologie et folk-lore (pp. 193-203); V. Epigraphie et Celtes du continent (pp. 203-208); VI. Oeuvres en collaboration (pp. 208-213); VII. Voyage aux États-Unis (pp. 274-276); VIII. L'action sociale et les honneurs (pp. 276-285).

³ In addition to the titles of Rhys's own writings, there are many references to reviews and reports by competent scholars, and to articles (written by Rhys or commenting on his work) in Welsh periodicals. As regards the latter, the author notes (p. 377) that Llywarch Reynolds was in the habit of providing him with journals and clippings from periodicals published in Wales.

is not only interesting and instructive, but his judgment appears to be so sane and his arguments so conclusive that we cannot but hope that his comment will find the attention it deserves both with scholars and the general public.

An account of the active life of John Rhys would be incomplete did it not include the work done by him in co-operation with other scholars (especially pupils or friends of his), or publications due to his initiative. The author has confined himself to mentioning (in chap. V) three important works of this kind, viz. (1) the volume *The Welsh People* by J. Rhys and D. Brynmor Jones (London 1901, and several subsequent editions); (2) the series *The ancient Books of Wales*, a well-known collection of ancient Welsh texts, the three first volumes of which were issued (1887-1893) in common by Gwenogfryn Evans and John Rhys, while afterwards the former alone assumed the burden of the editorship; (3) the volume *The Elucidarium and other Tracts in Welsh*, published in 1894 in the *Analecta Oxoniensia* by J. Rhys and J. Morris Jones.

In addition, he might have called attention to the interest manifested by Rhys in the study of the Manx Gaelic, and in saving from oblivion some of the ancient monuments of that interesting dialect. I am referring more particularly to the part taken by him in publishing—together with A. W. Moore—the MS. of a Manx translation of the Book of Common Prayer, made at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Bishop Philips, together with the text of a more recent translation, issued by the Manx clergy in 1765.¹ The share taken by the two editors in bringing out the work, is described by Rhys in the Preface (p. V) as follows:

“The whole labour of transcribing the MS. for the press and of collating the printed copy with the original has fallen upon Mr. Moore, my help being confined to a collation of the first sheet of the older text. I may, however, state that I perused the sheets as they issued from the press and that I plied Mr. Moore with a number of questions on their contents, which involved him in a repeated scouting of the original.”

In explanation of these modest words, a statement by A. W. Moore (p. XXIV) deserves mention:

“With reference to the modern version, which forms the parallel text, it has been taken from the Manx Prayer-book of 1842, which was copied from the first printed Prayer-book of 1765 with some slight alterations. It will be found on com-

¹ The title-page reads: *The Book of Common Prayer in Manx Gaelic. Being translations made by Bishop Philips in 1610, and by the Manx clergy in 1765. Edited by A. W. Moore, M. A., assisted by John Rhys, M. A., LL. D., Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford. (Vols. I. and II.) Printed for the Manx Society, at the University Press, Oxford. London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse, Amen Corner, 1895.*

parison that there are no inconsiderable number of errors in this text, which have been corrected with the assistance of Professor Rhys and Mr. W. J. Cain.—In conclusion I wish to express my obligations to Professor Rhys for the immense pains he has taken in revising the proofs with me, whereby he has saved me from many errors into which I should otherwise have fallen."

The reprint of the two versions of the Prayer-book is followed by a treatise by Rhys—not referred to on the title-page of either volume: "The Outlines of the Phonology of Manx Gaelic" (XII+183 pp.¹). The material for this study was gathered by him on various visits to the Isle of Man. His phonology thus is based throughout on personal observation, and constitutes a most valuable aid not only for the perusal of the two Manx versions of the Prayer-book, but for the study of the Manx dialect generally.

In 1907, Rhys visited the United States as the representative of Oxford University at the Peace Congress² called by Mr. Carnegie and as one of the guests invited to witness the opening of the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburg. An additional inducement for the visit was his desire to see his near relatives across the Atlantic. For his father had emigrated to the United States at a time when the future Celtist was yet an infant. In two letters published in the *South Wales News* of April 30 and May 3, 1907, Rhys, as we learn from Mr. Gaidoz' article, has recorded some of the impressions he received on his trip. Among other things, he relates that his American relatives call themselves *Reese* (not *Rees*, which latter is the common substitute for the Welsh spelling *Rhys* in England). In connection with this change in spelling he observes that in families of emigrants the use of the Welsh language is generally discontinued in the United States in the second generation (i. e., the one born in the U. States). He is aware of the fact

¹ Mr. Gaidoz (p. 20) has mentioned this treatise, the preface of which is dated Oxford, 1894. He adds, however, that he has not seen it, but is quoting from a review by Dottin in the *Revue Celtique* XVI (1895), pp. 240-242.

² In relating an incident which occurred at one of the sessions of this congress, Mr. Gaidoz mentions (p. 275) the late Prof. Münsterberg, adding that he was naturalized in the United States. This is not in accordance with a statement made by Münsterberg himself not long before his death—and circulated at that time in American newspapers—that he had always regarded himself as a German professor, called temporarily to the United States, and had not become an American citizen. (I beg leave to add that I am quoting from memory without recollecting the exact words ascribed to Münsterberg.) Another slight error in the same paragraph (and equally irrelevant from the point of view of Celtic philology) is the spelling of the name "le comte Bernsdorf" with *d* instead of *t* and *f* instead of *ff*.

that in the United States the Welsh language in this respect shares the fate of every other foreign language imported by immigrants.

With the name of John Rhys, Mr. Gaidoz has joined that of another Welsh scholar whose name in all probability is new to most of our readers. The more reason have we to be thankful for the information which Mr. Gaidoz, one of his near friends, is able to give. He was the son of the Welsh poet Jonathan Reynolds (better known by his bardic name Nathan Dyfed) who gave to his three sons the names—taken from ancient Welsh literature—Llywarch, Aneurin, and Arthur. Llywarch, while not a scholar by profession, was an evident lover of the history and literature of his native country and a man of vast erudition, of which he made use, however, more in the interest of his friends than in his own. In other words, he has written very little in his own name, but was ever ready to assist others with his knowledge. He was the editor of a posthumous work on *Madoc*¹ by his teacher and friend Thomas Stephens, the well-known historian of Welsh literature. The fine collection, left by him, of works in Welsh literature and on Celtic literature, was bought by Mr. Evan Davies Jones, who presented it to the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth.

It has been impossible here to call attention to the many bits of interesting and valuable information on various subjects, scattered over these articles, nor is it our intention to dwell in detail on the five appendices found on pp. 378–382. The headings of the latter are: I. *Le nom de Rhys*; II. *Les Goidels (ou Gaels) de l'Irlande*; III. *Sinn Fein et Fenians*; IV. *Une pratique de folk-lore dans la vie de Rhys*; V. *Un disciple allemand d'Edouard Davies*.

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¹ *Madoc*. An essay on the discovery of America by Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd in the twelfth century, by Thomas Stephens. Edited by Llywarch Reynolds, B. A. (Oxon.). London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1893.

REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM LXXII 1 and 2.

Pp. 1-13. L. Weniger, Vom Ursprunge der Olympischen Spiele. The Olympic festival was not originally a festival in honor of a dead hero, but was, from the start, a festival of Zeus. Hera was the original divinity of Olympia, the Heraea were older than the Olympia, and the Olympic games were modeled upon those of the Heraea. The girls' stadium was only five plethra in length. The men's stadium, which had a length of six plethra, was of more recent date. The women's dances and the girls' races that formed part of the Heraean festival were of Dionysiac origin.

Pp. 13-24. O. Hense, Chares und Verwandtes. Remarks on the fragments of the gnomic poet Chares (cf. Gerhard, Sitzber. Heidelb. Ak. 1912, 13. Abh.), whom the author would assign to the end of the fourth or to the beginning of the third century B. C.

Pp. 25-33. F. Boll, Demetrius de elocutione. Arguments that have been advanced to prove that the treatise de elocutione was written after the first century B. C. are shown to be worthless.

Pp. 34-40. Heinrich Schenkl, Zur Biographie des Rhetors Himerios. The Himerius of Libanius Ep. 1264 (355/6 A. D.) is the rhetorician Himerius. The Himerius of Ep. 758 (363 A. D.) is not the rhetorician, but an official that cannot be identified. It is doubtful whether in Ep. 654 (362 A. D.) Libanius meant Himerius by 'the <sophist> from Athens'.

Pp. 41-51. Wilhelm Heraeus, Zu Petronius und den neuen Arvalakten-Fragmenten. On the basis of the Arval Acts of 240 A. D., which were discovered at Rome in 1914, Heraeus changes *saucunculum* of Petron. Cen. Trim. c. 66 to *sangunculum* (dim. of sanguis), and defends *facinorum* (commonly changed to *farciminum* or *farcinorum*) of Arnob. adv. nat. VII 24.

Pp. 52-61. E. Bickel, Beitrage zur roemischen Religionsgeschichte. Discussion of Statius Silu. V 3, 176 sqq. Construe vv. 182 sq. thus: (monstrasti ei,) cui Chalcidicum fas uoluere carmen (namely, the Roman college of the XVviri), cur Phrygii lateat coma flaminis (Phrygius flamen = priest of Cybele).

Pp. 62-112. W. Kroll, *Arnobiusstudien*. Analysis of Arnobius *aduersus nationes* III-VII with a study of the sources and with some textual notes. Books I-II of the same work had been similarly treated by the author in an article entitled "Die Zeit des Cornelius Labeo", which was published in *Rh. Mus.* LXXI 309 sqq.

Pp. 113-149 and 238-257. W. Schmid, *Die sogenannte Aristidesrhetorik*. The author is preparing a new edition of the so-called *τέχνη ῥητορικὴ περὶ πολιτικοῦ λόγου*, which all the MSS attribute to Aristides, and which, since the publication in 1874 of Baumgart's work, have been generally regarded as genuine works of the sophist Aelius Aristides of the second century A. D. The present study is an advance publication dealing with the question of the transmission, structure, integrity, unity, authorship, date of composition and sources of these treatises. All the MSS are ultimately derived from the Parisinus Graecus 1741 saec. X/XI; MS V is probably the second cousin of MSS G and Pl. The oldest portion of the *τέχνη*, a portion that was perhaps composed by the sophist Basilicus (2d cent. A. D.), is the treatment of the twelve *ιδέαι* (Aristid. I pp. 459-501, 13 Sp.), the close of which has reached us in a much abridged form. This originally independent treatise and a subsequent addition (I pp. 501, 14-508, 20 Sp., perhaps composed by the Stoic rhetorician Zeno of the 2d cent. A. D.) were together intended to form a complete *τέχνη* of the *πολιτικὸς λόγος*, and were known to Hermogenes when he wrote the main body of his treatise *περὶ ιδεῶν* (pp. 218, 13-380, 10 Rabe). After the composition of the latter work, [Aristides] II was written (perhaps also by Zeno) with constant reference to [Aristides] I. The author of [Aristides] II was probably acquainted with the body of Hermogenes' *περὶ ιδεῶν*, but his work is essentially independent of that of Hermogenes and presents the results of his own study of Xenophon. The introduction to Hermogenes' *περὶ ιδεῶν* (213-18, 12 R.) and the appendix (381, 11-413) were written after [Aristides] I and II. The sophist Aelius Aristides is in no case to be considered as the author of [Aristides] I or II or the appendix to I.

Pp. 150-160. *Miszellen*: Hermann Mutschmann, Ein unbekannter Mythograph (150-153). M. thinks that the Gorgos of the IS (init. saec. II) published in Athen. Mitt. XI 428 was probably a mythographer.—W. Meyer-Luebbe, Lat. *manciola*, *manuciolum*, *peciulus* (153-154). *manciola* 'little hand' and *peciulus* 'little foot' are nursery formations patterned after *brachiolum*; *manuciola* 'little bundle' is patterned after *manciola*.—C. Clemen, Zu Tacitus German. 39 (155-158). Explanation of a peculiar rite of the Semnones described

by Tacitus.—Karl Preisendanz, *Karά τινά καιρόν* (159–160). Explanation of this phrase in Pap. Leid. J 384.

Pp. 161–197. Eduard Fraenkel, *Lyrische Daktylen*. The object of this investigation is to clear up the nature of the so-called dactylo-epitrites. The study is to be printed in three sections of which the present instalment is the first. This first section is limited to the consideration of dactylic verse in general and of lyrics written in pure dactylic verse. The author maintains that in Stesichorus and Ibycus and their tragic imitators genuine dactylic verses may begin with two short syllables or with an anacrustic long. The ascending dactylo-epitrite verses of Pindar as a rule begin with a long. Such verses occasionally begin with a short in Simonides and in Bacchylides, but the long is the rule in these authors also. The Aeolic dactyls that are treated of in the seventh chapter of Hephaestion, are real dactyls. The first foot of these may be a spondee, an iambus, a trochee, or a pyrrhic. Though in actual practice, as the author observes, pyrrhic lines are vastly in the minority, yet such lines (i. e. the anapaestic dactyls of popular songs) must have formed the point of departure for the Lesbian poets also. As for the epic hexameter, the author thinks that the descending form may very well have been the original. A number of pages are devoted to the elucidation of the novel view that the trochaic epitrite (— ∪ — —) may furnish a legitimate close for a dactylic verse. Prominent examples of this practice are found in the Archebuleum (∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — —), the Praxilleum (— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — —), and a verse corresponding to the Alcaic decasyllabic (— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — —), and indeed, though not prepared to express a final opinion on the matter, the author is inclined to think that Alcaeus may have felt the last line of the Alcaic strophe as a dactylic verse. The Cretic also (i. e. the catalectic form of the trochaic epitrite) forms a legitimate close for a real dactylic colon or verse. The fact that lyric dactyls did not originally admit of spondaic or proceleusmatic substitutes is explained on the theory that in dactyls that were sung the value of the long was incommensurate with that of the shorts, i. e. was *ἄλογος*. The author bases this theory on the statements of Dionysius of Halicarnassus with reference to the cyclic dactyl, and a special excursus is devoted to the discussion of these statements. The dactylic double dimeter is not primitive and its use has a very limited range. It is entirely foreign to the bulk of lyric poetry. The measure of the dactylic verse is the dactylic foot, not the dactylic dipody. The origin of the Homeric hexameter from the combination of a tetrameter and a dimeter is to be rejected.

Pp. 198-216. B. A. Mueller, *Zum Ninosroman*. The fragments of this romance were first published by U. Wilcken in *Hermes* 1893, 161-193. Mueller contributes a number of critical and expository notes. He concludes with the remark that whilst the papyrus which contains the text was written in the first century A. D., yet the original may very well have been composed at any time from the close of the Hellenistic period to the middle of the first century B. C.

Pp. 217-237. Wilhelm Bannier, *Zu griechischen und lateinischen Autoren*. Notes on Hesiod, O. et D., 23 sqq.; 35-42; Sc. Her. 144 sqq.; Hom. B 631 sqq. and 645 sqq.; Xen. Mem. II 1, 30; Lys. 19, 23; papyrus published in Sitzber. Heidelb. Ak. Wiss. 1914, 25 sqq.; ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ; Aristot. Epigram. 5, 39; Lucret. 5, 28 sqq.; Sen. Phaedr. 555-558 R.

Pp. 238-257. See report on pages 113-149.

Pp. 258-274. Ulrich Kahrstedt, *Zwei Beiträge zur älteren römischen Geschichte*. In the first section, the author demolishes the prevalent view that there were two kinds of comitia tributa. The convoking of this purely plebeian body by officers other than the tribuni plebis, and the exercise by the comitia tributa of judicial and elective functions in the trial and election of patricians, are explained as innovations and usurpations that resulted from the growing influence of the plebs after the legislative powers granted to the commons by the lex Hortensia c. 290 B. C. In the second section, Kahrstedt shows the utter fruitlessness of attempts to attain an exact chronology for the Roman history of the fourth and fifth centuries B. C.

Pp. 275-283. G. Helmreich, *Zu Marcellus de medicamentis*. The editor of the Teubner text of Marcellus de medicamentis (1889) reviews Max Niedermann's recent edition (Leipzig 1916) of that work and defends himself against some strictures leveled at him by the new editor.

Pp. 284-306. Paul Cauer, *Platons Menon und sein Verhältniss zu Protagoras und Gorgias*. Cauer defends the relative order Protagoras, Meno, Gorgias over against Gomperz and Pohlenz, who would place the Meno after the Gorgias.

Pp. 306-310. *Miszellen*: P. Von der Muehl, *Wieder zu Pindar, Pythie II 72 γένοι' ὁλός ἐσσι μαθών* (307-310). Following the lead of the scholia, the author interprets the passage in question as follows: "Give gracious ear to the song that I send thee across the sea; judge righteous judgment (γένοι' ὁλός ἐσσι, sc. σοφός) when thou hast heard it (μαθών); be not as foolish children to whom the ape looks beautiful."—Paul Maas, *Eine Epikurstelle* (p. 311), emends Oxyrh. Pap. II 215

col. II 12.—Th. Birt, Verlag und Schriftstellereinnahmen im Altertum (311–316), treats of publishers and writers' profits in classical antiquity.—C. Cichorius, Zur Topographie von Bruttium (316–318), thinks that on Crotonian coins of the sixth and fifth centuries ΥΔΙ stands for 'Υλίας, ΙΑ for 'Ιαπυλία, ΙΜ perhaps for Σιβερίη or Sipontum—all four being the names of unimportant places that belonged to the jurisdiction of Croton.—A. Brinkmann, Lueckenbuesser (319–320), emends Philo de aetern. mundi 2, 4 and Eratosthenes Catast. 31.

C. W. E. MILLER.

HERMES LIII (1918).

Studien zu den älteren griechischen Elegikern. I. Zu Tyrtaeos (1–44). F. Jacoby discusses the Tyrtaeus 'book' of elegies which is supposed to have originated in Athens, and to have contained old Spartan or rhapsode elegies combined with later compositions. The name Tyrtaeus seems to be of Asiatic origin.

Hippias aus Elis (45–56). W. Zilles abstracts from Plato's Hippias Major etc., some of the doctrines of this sophist, which he traces to Empedocles. The character of the Troicus speech is determined, and the argument for the genuineness of the Hip. Maj. strengthened.

Hippokratische Forschungen. V. Eine neue Fassung des XIX. Hippokratesbriefes (57–87). H. Diels publishes with discussions and critical commentary a longer version of this letter from Urbinas 68 s. XIV.

Gemmen mit der Inschrift ΜΝΗΣΘΗ (88–93). K. Scherling describes eleven gems with this inscription, which he explains as the 2nd pers. sing. subj. with middle ending on a passive stem (μνησθῆ).

ΣΚΥΤΑΛΙΣΜΟΣ (94–101). H. Swoboda sees in the famous massacre related by Diodorus (Ephorus) XV 57, 58 an execution with clubs in accordance with a decree of the people, 371/70 B. C. The usual term for this form of execution was ἀποτυμpanισμός.

Miscellen: O. Cuntz (102–104) discusses the decree of Lete in Macedonia in honor of M. Annus (Dittenb., Syll.² I 318).—W. Gemoll (105–107) shows the carelessness of Clemens Alexand. in citing passages from Xenophon (Cyrop., etc.), which were evidently obtained at second hand.—J. H. Lipsius (107–110) discusses the Attic decree retaining for Athens the φόρος of the metics that had migrated to Chalkis in 445 B. C (I. G. I. suppl. n. 27^a).—E. Bethe (110–112)

accepts the date 275 B. C. for the poet Nicander, and assumes a second Nicander as the author of the hymn in honor of Attalus I (c. 225/200 B. C.).

Bacchylidea (113-147). A. Körte gives the list of Cean victors and discusses its relation to the epinicia of Bacchylides. He also publishes the most important of the new fragments of B. One of these, in honor of Alexander son of Amyntas, reveals B.'s dependence on Pindar. Bacchylides must have been born about 516 B. C. The period of his exile falls within 464-452 B. C.

Ein neues Bruchstück aus den Aitia des Kallimachos (148-179). L. Malten publishes and comments at length on an interesting fragment picturing a banquet at the house of an Athenian, named Pollis, who had migrated to Egypt (Oxyn. pap. XI, 1915, 1362). We obtain thereby a more favorable opinion of Kallim. poetical gifts.

Zur Geschichte Grosz griechenlands im 5. Jahrhundert (180-187). U. Kahrstedt calls attention to the significance of the alliance coins for the history of southern Italy: Croton—Sybaris; Cr.—Temesa; Cr.—Pandosa; Cr.—Caulonia; Cr.—Zancle etc. (cf. Hill, Hist. Gr. Coins, p. 51).

Über die Abfassungszeit einiger Schriften Senecas (188-196). H. Dessau places the dialogue de brev. vitae, addressed to Paulinus, late in Seneca's life, and conjectures that II, VIII, IX were written in honor of his friend Serenus after the latter's death.

Über eine Aporie in der Lehre von den Aggregatzuständen bei Lukrez (197-210). J. Mussehl interprets and emends Lucretius II 444-477.

Die Grabschrift des Philosophen Julianus (211-216). M. Bang discusses the inscription to a philosopher Julius Julianus (C. I. L. VI, n. 9783; Dessau Inscr. sel. n. 7778), which he connects with the uprising against Commodus Dec. 31, 192 A. D.

Miscellen: A. Stein (217-220) thinks the point in nick-naming Drusus Castor for striking a distinguished knight lay in Castor being the patron of knights (cf. Cassius Dio lvii 14, 9).—O. Kern (220-221) sees in Lysias XXXIII 7 *καλομένην* κτλ. a citation from Solon, and thinks that we should read *κλινομένην* (cf. Kenyon, Suppl. Arist. III 2 p. 6, 6).—H. Dessau (221-224) supplements his article in Hermes LI (1916), p. 65, showing that Pontius the biographer of Cyprian could have begun his official career in his twenty-fifth year.—C. Robert (224) emends in Hygin. fab. 71 Nysius to Mysius.

Zum ΔΟΥΚΙΟΣ Η ΟΝΟΣ (225-261). H. Werner believes that the numerous adventures of the Ass of 'Lucius of Patrae' were originally, to a large extent, popular tales; some of which he identifies in Halm's Aesop and in Babrius. The use of the first person is a popular device to lend an air of reality.

Studien zu den älteren griechischen Elegikern. II. Zu Mimnermus (262-307). F. Jacoby presents a more favorable view of M. than is usual. M. was a professional who introduced new forms of poetry. His love-poetry was not personal like that of Roman elegy, and was probably not characteristic of his work as a whole.

Die Parteistellung des Themistokles (308-316). A. Rosenberg commends Beloch's Greek History II 2 (1916), but objects to his idea that Themistocles was a leader of a third party (γνώριμοι) of ultra democratic character. The reform of 448/7 transferred much of the power of the archon to the council and prytany. Perhaps the office of the ἐπιστάτης was created at this time.

Zu Xenophons ΚΥΝΗΓΗΤΙΚΟΣ. Ein Fragment (317-323). Alfred Körte publishes notes by the late G. Körte, made in preparation of a work on hunting in antiquity. The material that G. Körte had gathered is offered by the widow to anyone desiring to carry on this work.

ΠΥΘΜΟΣ (324-329). O. Schroeder finds that this term originated in Ionia from the observation of the motion of the waves, which is illustrated in Menander's Georgos: τὸ τῆς τύχης γὰρ ῥεύμα μεταπίπτει ταχύ.

Die Rhapsoden und die homerischen Epen (330-336). Eduard Meyer holds that the ῥαψωδοί were so called because they joined separate lays so as to form a series (ῥαπτὰ ἐπη). The transitions at I, I; M, I; ζ, I; η, I; ν, 185 show that ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζών, | Ἄρῃος θυγάτηρ μεγάλῃτορος ἀνδροφόνου, the transition to the Aithiopis, was the original conclusion of the Iliad, not ἱπποδάμοιο (Ω 804).

Zu Stephanos Byzantios (337-357). B. A. Müller fixes the chronological limits 539-565 A. D. for the composition of the geographical lexicon called Ethnica. Hermolaos made his epitome soon after, as he dedicated it to Justinian I. Certain passages are discussed and emendations proposed.

Nachträgliches zur epikureischen Götterlehre (358-395). R. Philippson welcomes Diels' edition of Philodemus' On the Mode of Life of the Gods (Pr. Akad. d. Wissensch. 1916 Nr. 4 and 6); but objects to some of Diels' views, e. g., the dual nature of the Epicurean gods. He also publishes emendations to Diels' text, and to Philodemus' περὶ εὐσεβείας.

Das zwanzigste Kapitel von Hippokrates de prisca medicina (396-421). M. Pohlenz adds this document as a source for the nineteenth Hippocratean letter (see above on Hermes p. 57-87), and discusses the ancient conception of the science of medicine.

Ser. Sulpicius Similis (422-433). A. Stein identifies this well-known governor of Egypt (between 107 and 113 A. D.) with the centurion of that name under Trajan who later became praefectus annonae and praefectus praetorio.

Die Heimat des Epigrammatikers Poseidippos (434-439). O. Weinreich produces an inscription from Thermon showing that P. came from Pella and must have been born about 312 B. C.

Die älteste Definition der Rhetorik (440-443). † H. Mutschmann makes it probable that Plato either coined the metaphor *πειθοῦς δημιουργός* (Gorgias 453 A) or derived the idea from some medical work since *ὑγείας δημιουργός* occurs already in Charmides 174 E.

Miscellen: E. Bethe (444-446) rejects E. Meyer's supposition (Hermes LIII (1918), p. 334, 1) that Apollonius Rh. regarded ψ 296 as the end of the Odyssey, and imitated it. Our Odyssey should not be abbreviated.—C. Robert (446) transposes two verses in Seneca's Hercules 560 ff., so that *telum f. precedes tecum f.*

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BRIEF MENTION.

Held back by the dam of the British censorship, it is only a few months since the German exchanges of the Journal began to trickle in. There are long arrears to make up, and as I survey the activity of German scholars during the last four years, I cannot suppress the thought that the future historian will find a certain illumination, if not edification, in watching the reflection of the great war in the stream of philological production. As for that matter, this Journal itself will bear witness to the progressive entanglement of American scholars in the remorseless machinery of the momentous conflict. A curious exemplification of the way in which professors entered what has been called the Professors' War is furnished by an article in the first number of *Philologus* (viz. N. F. XXVIII, Heft 3/4, 1918) that came into my hands after the lines of communication were in a measure restored—an article, which beginning innocently enough with a discussion of the meaning of νόμος in Pindar, winds up with an assault upon Woodrow Wilson. But before taking up Professor OTTO SCHROEDER's paper on the notorious νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς, I will allow myself to do what I have done on other occasions and set forth the views I have entertained for many years. Coincidences with Professor SCHROEDER will, I fear, be inevitable, but that is to be expected in the treatment of so familiar a theme.

Greek history divides itself into two periods, which may be designated as the θέμις-μῦθος period and the νόμος-λόγος period. There is no νόμος in Homer and λόγος is negligible. νόμος is an advance on the βασιλεὺς stage. It involves νέμειν and νέμεσθαι (A. J. P. XVIII 76). It denotes a manner of compromise, a give-and-take business. It does not at first assume the spectral form, the form of Law by which νόμος is familiarly translated,—Law 'whose seat is in the bosom of God and her voice the harmony of the world'. Law is organized will; and νόμος, originally nothing but Use and Wont, in later days becomes a majestic entity which overshadows all others. οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος became a formula. Lysias uses it (I. 25); Aristophanes uses it (Eccl. 1055); it is found in Anaximenes 36; and so on down to Shakespeare who employs it in Measure for Measure II, 2: 'It is the law, not I condemn your brother'. But in Pindar's mouth it was only Use and

Wont. Comp. Pindar, P. 2. 80; 10. 70. In the Index to my edition I have translated the word by the modern term 'constitution', and the word 'constitution' is the outcome of Professor SCHROEDER's homily on the subject. νόμος is something traditional, and the word νομίζω reflects the easy way in which so-called thought is accepted. νομίζω is 'I take it', as οἶμαι is 'I ween' and ἡγοῦμαι 'I deem'.¹ But not to dwell on these beggarly elements of the schoolroom, I must break off and follow meekly in the tracks of Professor SCHROEDER's discourse.

Professor SCHROEDER begins by protesting against the bad practice of quoting "winged words" apart from the context after the pattern set by Satan. This particular phrase, νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς, appears among the familiar quotations of sophists, rhetoricians, philosophers, and Fathers of the Church. Herodotus gave currency to it, and so did Plato, who puts it in the mouth of Kallikles in the *Gorgias*, where it appears as an assertion of what SCHROEDER calls 'the brutal right of the stronger', as in the early fable of the Hawk and the Nightingale (*Hesiod O. et D. 202*), what we should call the good old rule, the <German> plan 'that they should take who have the power, and they should keep who can.' Let us go back, he says, to the fragment itself (169) in which the words occur and which presents us with a justification of the raid of Herakles on the kine of Geryones—not a justification, says SCHROEDER, of every deed of violence but of that special performance of Herakles. Unfortunately the passage is torn out of its setting and we must look first into the original meaning of the word. νόμος is derived, as we have already seen, from νέμειν, and means 'assignment'. It appears first with its

¹Those who are curious in the matter of Greek synonyms may be amused at the discrepancy of my view of νομίζω with that of Neil in his much lauded edition of the *Equites*: On 515: "νομίζων believing, of conscientious ground of action: as νομίζω θεός, etc." On 714: "νομίζω, hold, believe, as ground for action; answered by the strong word ἐπιτάραμαι. Editors quote Ter. *Adelphi* 898 *plebem facio meam*, Ovid *ars am. ii* 259 *fac plebem, mihi crede, tuam*." On 1338: "νομίζω θεόν implies action taken in consequence of the belief, cf. on 515." But similar differences will be found in the treatment of βούλομαι and ἐθέλω. In this case much will depend on the seriousness with which one takes his creed, which as I have set forth in my *Creed of the Old South*, is often nothing more than an unthought-out inheritance.

There is more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds.

νομίζω θεός is a case of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the occasional use of νομίζω ὅτι shows a certain light-hearted identification with the later construction of πιστεύω. Cf. A. J. P. IX 101.

original accent as *νομός* in the political geography of Egypt. *νομός* was a pasture lot with its fixed metes and bounds <such as we find in the colonial records of our own country, such as we find in the quarter-section allotments of to-day>. Then we have the use of the word *νόμος* still in the sense of a fixed partition in music <and oddly enough the old English use of 'division' furnishes an apt illustration. 'Music' as I quoted from Offenbach long ago 'is all algebra'>. When we come to Herodotus—<Pindar and he were contemporaries for a considerable stretch of time>—*νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς* had become a winged word, but it is to be noted that he had put *νόμος δεσπότης*, VII 104, in the mouth of a Spartan—one who <like the English> believed in an *ἀγραφος νόμος*. It is Herodotos who first quotes the Pindaric sentence and SCHROEDER attaches much importance to the testimony of Herodotos because he considers Herodotos a naïve soul and quite free from sophistic influence, one 'who was familiar with the lower and higher tones of the language.' Of course, those who agree with Boeckh that it is a great mistake to regard Herodotos as a naïve soul, those who think that he shews abundant evidence of sophistic influence and that his attitude towards the movement of his times was that of an artistic opposition, so to speak, will accept Herr SCHROEDER'S use of Herodotos with certain modifications, with not a little sprinkling of that Attic salt, with which the historian himself was imbued.¹

The fragment is a strophe of a paean that deals, as we have seen, with the cattle raid of Geryon—an affair that had occupied Pindar elsewhere, fr. 81, and in that poem Pindar seems to have been somewhat shaky as to the justification of the part that the father of Herakles had played: τὸ δὲ μὴ Διὶ φίλτερον σιγῆμι πάμπαν, where the grammarian in grain pauses to remark on the -αν of *πάμπαν* (A. J. P. XII 387). Fr. 169 runs:

νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς
 θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων
 ἄγει δικαίων τὸ βιαιότατον
 ὑπερτάτῃ χειρὶ. τεκμαίρομαι
 ἐργοισιν Ἡρακλέος· ἐπεὶ
 Γαρυόνα βόας
 Κυκλωπίων ἐπὶ προθύρων Εὐρυσθέος
 ἀναιτήτας τε καὶ ἀπριάτας ἔλασεν.

But according to SCHROEDER *νόμος* had already risen in the mind of Pindar to a great figure that controlled the actions

¹ A. J. P. XVII 126; Johnson's Cycl. s. v.

both of gods and men. The Use and Wont had passed over into the constitution of things. <Like Hooker's Law> its seat was in the bosom of Zeus <who is metamorphosed into the likeness of the good old German God>. We must remember, I may add, that according to the constitution of things we have the proverb οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς πρὸς δύο, and Geryon was in himself a triple entente, so that Herakles was not undertaking an enterprise unworthy of his chivalric nature. The conclusion of the whole matter then is that νόμος is not law but constitution; Use and Wont growing out of the life of a nation ever old and yet ever new; <or, as conservatives would say of our constitution, 'a constant interchange of growth and blight'>; none of your paper constitutions, but such a constitution as Burke describes in his protest against the French revolution—Burke with whom Woodrow Wilson was in full agreement 'until he became an enemy of Germany and the Truth'—<a strange pair of bed-fellows according to the deliverance of Maximilian Harden and the practice of Bismarck>.

The good ship Hellas to which I committed my slender fortunes sixty-odd years ago has been in many a gale since then, but I have a stout heart and a constitution immune to seasickness, so that, whether Pindar's πὰρ ποδῖ (N. 6. 57) refers to the sheet of the sail (A. J. P. XXXIX 105) or to the tiller of the vessel, I still sit undismayed among the passengers on the after-deck, unlike Rabelais' Greek scholar, Panurge. 'Panurge', we are told, 'ayant du contenu en son estomach bien repeu les poissons scatophages, restoit acropy sus le tillac tout affligé, tout meshaigné, et à demy mort' (4, 18). 'Rudely blowed', sang Henry Kirke White, 'the wind that tossed my foundering bark'—and I borrow the weak preterite of 'blow' from that famous hymn, and bid the enemies of Greek 'be blowed'. 'Blown' would not answer any more than εἰς for ἐς in ἐς κόρακας. As a grammarian I am strongly tempted at this point to introduce an excursus on the aesthetic value of perverted preterites, such as 'dove' for 'dived'—said 'dove' being used regularly in the records of feats of aviation without any thought of the literary justification provided by Longfellow's 'dove the beaver'. Such perversions are a ready and fertile source of merriment in all languages and ought to be considered in textual criticism.

But I forbear and go back to my starting-point, the perilous condition of the good ship Hellas. Some years ago when the great κυβερνήτης was Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, and the vessel

was labouring in the trough of the sea, I was horrified to learn that he proposed to lighten the ship by jettisoning the Greek accents. 'Good Heavens', I said. The next step, as I learned from St. Paul's account, would be to cast out the tackling of the ship, to wit, accident and syntax. But the proposal to get rid of the accents was nothing new. In the eighteenth century there was a decided rebellion against the retention of a notation that meant nothing to many Greek scholars. Lessing made no use of Greek accents and the tradition was kept up at least as late as 1841, the date of my Cotta edition of Lessing. When I undertook to edit Justin Martyr, the only copy of that worthy in the library of the University of Virginia was a Würzburg edition innocent of accents. George Long, a name never to be mentioned without respect, the first professor of Ancient Languages in that great school, was a sworn foe of the Greek accents, and in a letter to his friend Tutwiler argued strenuously against the use of them. And George Long's lead was followed by his successor in the University of Virginia, Dr. Gessner Harrison, so that when I succeeded Dr. Harrison in the chair of Greek, I made myself very unpopular by insisting on the study. Practical observance of the rules of Greek accentuation is still a stumbling-block in England, and the accuracy of English classical texts is due in large measure to the slaves of the press. Grote's works are disfigured by false accents. Liddell and Scott's standard lexicon is by no means free from slips. That *canis grammaticus* Rutherford, ignored the rule for the accentuation of the perfect infinitive active (A. J. P. III 228), and only a few years ago, in an eloquent plea for the study of Greek, an eminent historian, in quoting one of Sappho's 'jewels five words long', managed, he or his printer, to get in five mistakes—accentual and other. Well, if accents are to be abandoned, I should like to make a plea for the so-called Lachmann Greeks. *ιδέ*

ΦΑΙΝΕΤΑΙ ΜΟΙ ΚΗΝΟC ΙCΟC ΘΕΟΙCΙΝ.

ιδέ and *λαβέ*, by the way, together with *ειπέ*, *ελθέ*, and *εὐπέ*, are among the most striking proofs of the original pitch accent, a proof corroborated by every English-speaking mother when she calls to her dissyllabic children: Tommý, Johnný, Susań, Marý. Cf. A. J. P. XXXIV 114.

'Parmenio the Macedonian', says Dr. Mackail, 'is the author of sixteen epigrams in the Anthology, very various in subject and for the most part undistinguished'. One of the sixteen, however, has found favour with those who have made selections from the Anthology, so that we may call him, after the

analogy of Single Speed Hamilton Single Epigram Parmenio. Though the theme is well worn, the epigram has recently gained a fresh admirer in Mrs. Humphry Ward who quotes a translation of it in her recent novel 'Elizabeth's Campaign'. The real hero is an English squire, at once a dogged pacifist and a wonderful Greek scholar, though the specimens presented to us are closely akin to some of Mrs. Ward's classicisms in another novel of hers which is supposed to be redolent of Oxford erudition, and in which the Ambrosian Library is said to have its local habitation in Venice. But there is no use in pointing out the perils that environ the amateur who meddles with Greek life and literature, and not the amateur only, for even the professionals themselves shall scarcely be saved, and the registry of pedantic blunders is cheap fun. Besides I am in trouble myself because I shall need the charity of the chance readers of *Brief Mention* as I attempt again to illustrate the analogies and the differences of the antique epigram and the modern sonnet (A. J. P. XXXIII 111)—a liberty which evoked a mild remonstrance from the late sympathetic editor of the *Independent*.

Τὸν γαίης καὶ πόντου ἀμειφθείσασιν κελεύθοις¹
 ναύτην ἠπαίρου, περὶ πόρον πελάγους,
 'Ὅν τρισσαῖς δοράτων ἑκατοῦτάσιν ἔστεγεν ἄρης
 Σπάρτης· ἀσχύνησθ' οὔρεα καὶ πελάγη.—A. P. IX 304.

A king there was, a king of kings was he,
 And all the world stood hush'd whene'er he spoke.
 'Twas he that bade his minions lay his yoke
 Upon the coursers of fair Helle's sea.

Old Athos would not yield to his decree,
 And check'd his brass-bound men and hearts of oak;
 But Xerxes order'd, and his servants broke
 The rocky barrier and the way was free.

Exultant then Ahasuerus cried,
 'Was ever might, was ever skill like mine?
 Poseidon, speak! Speak, Mountain Artemis'.—

Mount Athos blush'd, flush'd crimson Helle's tide.—
 'Will Hellas dare outstay these powers divine?'
 And Sparta at Plataea answered this.

In my *Brief Mention* of Wilamowitz's Aischylos (A. J. P. XXXVI 358-364) I passed over his note on Ag. 584. Like

¹ 'The dative or ablative thus used absolutely', says Burges in the Bohn Anthology, 'is rather a Latin than a Greek form of syntax which would require the genitive'. Parmenio seems to be within his Greek rights. The dative is instrumental and the predicative participle is fully justified (A. J. P. XIX 463; XX 352).

many of the *obiter dicta* of that eminent Hellenist, it incited me to reflexions and to investigations that required more space than could well be afforded by the narrow compass of this department of the Journal, which foreign critics refuse, and perhaps justly refuse, to take seriously. Since that date (1915), I have been obliged to renounce the kind of syntactical exploration to which so much of my life has been devoted, and I must content myself with a few remarks, which may prompt others to work along abandoned lines. In the ordinary texts, one reads (l. c.) *ἀεὶ γὰρ ἡβᾷ τοῖς γέρονσιν εὐμαθεῖν*. For ἡβᾷ Wilamowitz reads with Margoliouth ἡβῃ and adds the note, *Tantum in praesentis infinitivo dici poterat τὸ εὐμανθάνειν ἀεὶ ἡβᾷ*, which is equivalent to saying that the aor. inf. as the subject of a general sentence is ungrammatical. If emendation were needed the desiderated present could easily be restored by writing *εὐμαθεῖν*—a compound readily justified by Aischylos's other formations. *εὐμαθεῖν* would match *εὐμαθῆς* as *εὐθαρσεῖν* matches *εὐθαρσῆς* and *εὐτυχεῖν* matches *εὐτυχῆς*. But this *obiter dictum* involves a much larger quest, viz., the relation of the abstract noun to the substantive infinitive—a matter on which I have touched here and there but have never been able to exhaust. The abstract noun often assumes an aoristic form as in the case of *πάθος μάθος*. The *-σις* formation is decidedly aoristic and yet it is used in sentences of general import, but while *πράγμα* is a distinct perfect, it would be hard to differentiate it from *πράξις* everywhere, and *ἔξις* is as durative as *σχέσις* is ingressive. True, the substantive infinitive affords the great advantage of a distinct kind of time and *μανθάνειν* may be differentiated from *μαθεῖν* still there is no reason why the aor. inf. may not, as it were, renounce its birthright and be used generically just as the aor. ind. is used generically. To pursue this subject through the whole range of the language lies beyond my resources, but I have been able to run two or three trial trenches, which shew that the research would be as well worth while as most studies in statistical syntax.

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WHOLE No. 159.

I.—REFERENCES TO LITERATURE¹ IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE.

In Plautus and Terence there are many passages which deal with literary or quasi-literary matters. For the most part such references are Greek in origin and character, though we shall find, especially in Plautus, a surprising amount of material bearing on Latin literature rather than on Greek.²

The references fall into two main classes. Of these one deals primarily with the stories³ that form so large a part of Greek literature, especially of Greek dramatic literature.⁴ The other consists of allusions to literary works or literary passages, which are, in general, not named.

¹ I use this term in a very wide sense, to cover some things that might well fall also under such captions as folklore, mythology, and religion. By the time of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, and even more by that of Plautus and Terence, such matters had become, in part at least, bookish. Certainly, from the point of view indicated in footnote 3, below, the inclusion here of such matters is warranted.

² This remark applies more fully to matters to be discussed in a later paper, as a continuation of the present discussion. See note 4.

³ Long after the present paper had been begun I found that Professor F. F. Abbott, in his *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome* (1909), 178-179, had sought to infer the intellectual interests and capacities of Plautus's audiences by noting what Greek myths appear in his plays. So Professor J. S. Reid, in his edition of the *Academica* (1885), page 20, uses the allusions to philosophy and the philosophical reflections in the fragments of the Roman drama, tragic and comic, as a means of determining the measure of Roman acquaintance with philosophic matters. He appends three references to Terence, but none to Plautus, a much more important source of information in this connection. See page 248, note 2.

⁴ This class only will be considered in this paper.

In both classes the allusion is frequently, perhaps more commonly, employed for purposes of parody. Further, the effectiveness of the parody is increased by the fact that it is frequently put into the mouth of a slave¹; in the disparity between the sentiments uttered and the status of the speaker lies much of the fun.

Sometimes we need to bring the two classes of allusions into closest relation to each other. Thus, we have numerous allusions in Plautus to the story of the Trojan War and the various matters contained in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Cyclic Poems*: see e. g. Ba. 925-978 (cf. below, pp. 258-260). Here Latin and Greek works both were in Plautus's mind; the Latin works rather than the Greek were likely to be in the minds of the spectators. In several passages Plautus had specific parts of the *Odyssey*, at least, in mind. The references to matters involving the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Cyclic Poems* (see pp. 254-260) are especially interesting in view of the belief, first securely established in Plautus's time,² in the Trojan origin of the Romans and in view of the predominance of the Trojan War among the themes of Roman tragedy.³

¹ In his paper, *The Ancient Editions of Plautus*, 48, note e, Professor Lindsay wrote thus: "How far Plautus suits his language, his metre, and perhaps his prosody to his characters is a subject that would reward investigation". The present paper shows that there is another question: How far does Plautus, to gain comic effect, fail, on the surface, to adapt the language to his characters, in that he makes them speak of things of which, one would say, they would not naturally speak? Though, we may be sure, some slaves exceeded their masters in culture, slaves must often have been illiterate (witness the freedmen in the *Cena Trimalchionis*, though Professor C. W. Mendell, in a paper entitled *Petronius and the Greek Romance*, in *Classical Philology*, XII, 158-172, denies the realistic character of Petronius's work. For its realistic character see e. g. the two discussions by Professor F. F. Abbott, in *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, 117-144, and in *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome*, 115-130). In a note on *Aristophanes, Ranae* 554, Professor Tucker declares that the Greek comic writers do not make vulgar people speak vulgar Attic.

In view of what is written above, I have thought it well to indicate in this paper the rôles played by the speakers of the various passages cited.

² See especially Nettleship, *The Story of Aeneas's Wanderings*, in *Conington's Vergil*⁴, 2. 1-līi.

³ Livius Andronicus wrote an *Achilles*, an *Ajax Mastigophorus*, an *Aegisthus*, and an *Equos Troianus*. See Ribbeck, *Römische Dichtung*⁵,

I.

A study of the words *graphicus*, *poema*, and *poeta*¹ is not without value for our purposes. Once *graphicus* gives us real help, St. 570.² In 505 ff. Antipho senex has been seeking an invitation to dinner from his sons-in-law; driven to desperation by his failure he has tried the effect of an elaborate *apologus* ('allegory', 'parable': cf. Gellius 2. 29. 1) in 538 ff. At 570 Pamphilippus cries: *Graphicum mortalem Antiphonem! Ut apologum fecit quam fabre!*³

II.

Several references to historical personages may be included here, because their ultimate source is, to some extent at least, bookish.

Agathocles.—In Men. 369 ff. Menaechmus II Syracusanus has denied knowledge of Erotium meretrix; the latter, astounded and hurt by what she tries to regard as a joke,⁴ cries (407 ff.):

Non ego te novi Menaechum, Moscho prognatum patre,
qui Syracusis perhibere natus esse in Sicilia,*
ubi rex Agathocles regnator fuit et iterum Pintia,
tertium Liparo, qui in morte regnum Hieroni tradidit,
nunc Hiero est?

1. 17. For Naevius's use of the Trojan War story see Ribbeck again, 1. 20, for Ennius's, 1. 29. Naevius wrote an *Equos Troianus* and a *Hector Proficiscens*. Half of Ennius's plays dealt with the Trojan cycle. See further e. g. Teuffel, 102; Ribbeck, *Römische Tragödie*, 684; Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Republic*, 85; Duff, *A Literary History of Rome*, 125, 128, 142.

¹ The use of *poema* and *poeta* in Plautus I have discussed fully in *Classical Philology*, XII, 149, and footnote. The suggestion in the footnote, that Plautus at times deliberately used *poeta* in parody of Naevius's proud application of that term to himself, has direct bearing on our present inquiry. In this connection, we may well recall Plautus's reference, in Mi. 208-212, to Naevius's imprisonment. So, too, the discussion in *Classical Philology*, XII, 156-157, of *describo*, *pingo*, *depingo*, *pictor* and *pictura* in Plautus is in point now.

² I use Lindsay's text. The punctuation, capitalization, and at times the spelling are mine.

³ The other examples of *graphicus* (Ep. 410; Ps. 519, 700; Tr. 936, 1024) and of *graphice* (Pe. 306, 464, 843; Tr. 767) do not directly help us.

⁴ For Menaechmus I Epidamniensis as a practical joker and the bearing of that circumstance on this scene and others in the play, see A. J. P. XXXV 27, n. 1.

This is a most amusing jumble of fact and fancy: see Brix-Niemeyer¹ (1912) and Fowler *ad loc.* Mr. P. Thoresby Jones, in his edition (1918), is too serious by far when he writes, "Plautus (or his Greek original) is true to life in representing a woman of Erotium's class as guilty of such blunders. An Aspasia was rare." In Ps. 524-530 Pseudolus servos, speaking in burlesque tone, promises a pugnam claram et commemorabilem (525). At 531-532 Simo senex exclaims, si quidem istaec opera, ut praedicas, perfeceris, virtute regi Agathocli antecesseris. In Mo. 775 ff. Tranio servos counts himself as great as Alexander Magnus and Agathocles.

Alexander.—See above, under Agathocles. The foundation of Alexandria by Alexander the Great is perhaps referred to by Gripus servos (piscator) as he builds castles in Spain, Ru. 933a-935a. See below, under Stratonicus.

Antiochus.—In Poe. 693-694 Collybiscus vilicus, masquerading as a miles, says:

Ego id quaero hospitium ubi ego curer mollius
quam regi Antiocho oculi curari solent¹.

Attalus.—In Pe. 339 Saturio parasitus mentions rex Philippus and Attalus. In Poe. 644 ff. the Advocati are telling Lycus leno about the miles, who had that day arrived in Calydon, and wishes *potare, amare* (655-661). Compare now 662-666:

ADV. At enim hic clam, furtim esse volt, ne quis sciat
neve arbiter sit, nam hic latro in Sparta fuit,
ut quidem ipse nobis dixit, apud regem Attalum;
inde nunc aufugit, quoniam capitur oppidum.

CO. Nimis lepide de latrone, de Sparta optume.

Here Plautus takes the pains to tell us (666) that he has been jesting.

¹ The point of these verses is lost to us. Salmasius guessed that the original of the Poenulus was written in the lifetime of Antiochus, and that the latter had had trouble with his eyes. Rost, *Opuscula Plautina* 1. 19, suggested that Antiochus, "mollitiei omni deditus" (so Vissering, *Quaestiones Plautinae* 32), had, for reasons now unknown, given special care to his eyes. Naudet mentions the view of some that favorites of Antiochus were known as his 'eyes' and 'ears'; he refers to Pollux 2. 7. In his *App. Crit.* Leo writes simply: "nihil mollius quam oculos curamus, ut nihil magis quam oculos amamus". The Romans often talked of loving something *magis oculis* or of something as *carius oculis*.

Dareus.—See below, under Philippus.

Hiero.—See above, under Agathocles.

Iason.—In Ps. 173 ff. Ballio leno bids his meretrices bring him profit. One is to bring him stores of grain (188 ff.), ut civitas nomen mihi commutet meque ut praedicet lenone ex Ballione regem Iasonem (192–193). On this Calidorus adulescens remarks, to Pseudolus servos (193–194), Audin? furcifer satin magnificus tibi videtur? See Professor E. P. Morris, on 193. H. W. Auden, in his annotated edition (1896), reads *Iasionem*, thinking of a Cretan, son of Zeus and Electra, and father, by Ceres, of Plutus. See the article Iasion in Pauly-Wissowa, 8. 751–758. Leo, in his text-edition, read *Iasonem*, interpreting of the personage whom Auden calls Iasion.

Liparo.—See above, under Agathocles.

Lycurgus.—In Ba. 111 Lydus paedagogus refers to Lycurgus, the law-giver.

Philippus.—See above, under Attalus. In Au. 85–88 Euclio senex says to Staphyla anus: Mirum quin tua me caussa faciat Iuppiter Philippum regem aut Dareum, trivenefica. In Au. 701 ff., Lyconidis servos, exulting because he has the miser's *aula*, says, ego sum ille rex Philippus. O lepidum diem! The frequent references to the coin called Philippus or Philippeus are more or less in point. J. Egli, Die Hyperbel in den Komödien des Plautus und in Ciceros Briefen an Atticus, 3. 18, and Vissering, Quaestiones Plautinae 31, hold that the name Philippus, like Croesus, was proverbial for great wealth.

Pintia.—See above, under Agathocles.

Pyrrhus.—In Eun. 781–783 we have a very amusing reference, in a burlesque passage (see from 771), by Thraso miles to Pyrrhus's skill as a strategist.

Seleucus.—In Mi. 75–77 the soldier declares that he has been requested by rex Seleucus to enroll mercenaries for him. In 948–950 he states that he had sent his parasite to take the *latrones* to the king. Seleucia is mentioned several times in the Trinummus (112, 771, 845).

Stratonicus.—In Ru. 932 Gripus servos (a piscator), building castles in Spain on the strength of the *vidulus* he had fished

up from the sea, says, *Post animi caussa mihi navem faciam atque imitabor Stratonicum, oppida circumvectabor*.¹

III. ACCHERON; ORCUS.²

Accheron.—In Poe. 71 the prologist declares that the father who had lost Agorastocles, the stolen boy, *ipse abit ad Accheruntem sine viatico*. Naudet interprets *sine viatico* of the lack of the precious things commonly set on the funeral pyre or in or on the tomb, especially of the lack of money needed to pay Charon; for that money compare e. g. such well-known passages as Aristophanes, *Ranae* 141, Juv. 3. 265–267, Swift, *The Battle of the Books*, last paragraph.

In Poe. 344 Adelphasium puella promises <cum Agorastocle palpare et lalare> quo die Orcus Accherunte mortuos amiserit. This verse has a proverbial ring (reminding one of references to the Greek Kalends) and so has definite connection, perhaps, with literature. Closely akin are the words of *Astaphium ancilla* in Tru. 747–750.

Ca. 999–1000 contains an interesting and important reference to paintings of Acheron. See my paper, *References to Painting in Plautus and Terence*, *Classical Philology*, XII, 150.

In Tr. 525 Stasimus servos, seeking to deter Philto senex from accepting the *ager* as a dowry for Lesbonicus's sister, if she marries his son, says: *Accheruntis ostium in nostrorum agro*. With this compare Ba. 368, cited below, under Orcus.³

¹ Professor Sonnenschein, following Ussing, holds that the reference is to a celebrated musician, contemporary of Diphilus, who travelled about in Greece to exhibit his skill. "Diphilus", he adds, "appears . . . in the original of this play to have indulged in a little light banter of the successful performer Stratonicus". Dousa, however, in the Naudet (Lemaire) edition, thinks that Stratonicus was a "quaestor regis Philippi, et deinde Alexandri Magni", whose wealth passed into a proverb. In any case to Plautus's audience the reference was bookish.

² See notes 1 and 3. Matters of religion, too, were by the time of the New Attic Comedy and the days of Plautus and Terence more or less bookish. The stories figured too in painting: see the discussion, referred to in the text, of Ca. 999–1000, and, perhaps, of the Alcmena story (below, pages 239–242).

³ Less significant are certain other passages. In Cas. 159 ff. Cleustrata matrona calls her husband *Accheruntis pabulum*. *Accherunticus*, used

Orcus.—For Orcus see first Poe. 344, cited above, page 236. In Ba. 368, Lydus paedagogus calls the house of the Bacchides *ianuam Orci*. Compare Tr. 525, cited in the preceding paragraph. See further As. 606–607 (*adulescens*):

ARG. Vale. PH. Quo properas? ARG. Bene vale: apud Orcum te videbo,
nam equidem me iam quantum potest a vita abiudicabo.

The addition of an explanatory line, wholly Latin, is here natural enough.

In Ca. 282–284 Hegio is questioning Philocrates, whom he takes to be the slave Tyndarus, thus:

HE. Quid pater? vivitne? PH. Vivom, quom inde abimus, liquimus:
nunc vivatne necne, id Orcum scire oportet scilicet.

TY. Salva res est: philosophatur quoque iam, non mendax modo est.

The last verse (on it see further below, page 261, note 1) is justification enough for including in this paper references to Acheron and Orcus.

In Hec. 852–853 Pamphilus *adulescens* says to Parmeno his slave, who had brought him good news,

Egon¹ qui ab Orco mortuom me reducem in lucem feceris
sinam sine munere a me abire?

There may be a reference here to the Orpheus-Eurydice story. In 874–875 Parmeno, tantalized because no one will explain to him the happenings of the play, cries, evidently with the foregoing passage in mind: Tamen suspicor: ego hunc ab Orco mortuom quo pacto . . . !

Other passages, which there is not space here to quote, are Ep. 173–177 (*senex*), 362–363 (*adulescens*), Ps. 795–797 (*leno*).

twice derisively by a *senex* of an old man (Mer. 290–291, Mi. 627–630), has a proverbial ring. In Poe. 428–431, 827–833 gentleman and slave, the latter with special detail, dwell on the number and the varied classes of the dead in Acheron. Kindred to these passages is the reference in Tr. 493–494 by a *senex* to the fact that Acheron is no respecter of persons; there, at least, the rich and the poor are on a par. See, finally, Ba. 199 (*adulescens*), Ca. 689 (*senex*), Cas. 448 (*servos*), Am. 1029 (*Amphitruo dux*), Am. 1078 (*Amphitruo*), Mo. 499 (*Tranio servos* professes to quote the ghost of a gentleman). Note that the words in parenthesis here and elsewhere in like cases give the rôle played by the speaker. See above, page 232, note 1, end.

¹ Sc. *te* as the subject of *abire*, and as antecedent of *qui*.

IV.

A. STORIES APART FROM THOSE RELATING TO THE TROJAN WAR.

Let us consider now the stories to which allusion more or less definite is made. Quite often the allusion is made by an actor as he enters, particularly if he is to occupy the stage for a time *solus*.¹ For convenience of reference the passages are arranged in an alphabetical sequence of story-titles and theme-titles.

Acicides.—In the *Asinaria* Libanus servos calls attention to the (supposed) Saurea, who is entering at 403 *quassanti capite*, adding (404): *quisque obviam huic occesserit irato vapulabit*. The Mercator rejoins (405–406):

*Siquidem hercle Acacidinis minis animisque expletus cedit,
si med iratus tetigerit, iratus vapulabit.*

Aiax, Alcumeus.—See below, pp. 238–239. In Ca. 561–563 there is reference (by Tyndarus servos) to three famous madmen of Greek story, Lycurgus, Orestes, and Alcumeus (Alcmaeon). In Ca. 613 ff. there is a very interesting reference to mad Aiax.² See also below, page 241, note 1.

In Cis. 639–644 there is a delicious parody of a suicide scene, which may well have reminded the audience of plays both Greek and Latin, e. g. the Aiax of Sophocles, and the Aiax Mastigophorus of Livius Andronicus.³

In Men. 828–875 is the famous scene in which Menaechmus II Syracusanus, by pretending to be mad, drives off the matrona and her father. The scene is too long to reproduce here. This passage and Ca. 547–616 are to be compared each with the other, in detail, as giving some hints of the diagnosis and pathology of insanity among the Romans. Compare especially Ca. 557 *Viden tu hunc quam inimico voltu intuitur? concedi optumumst*, Hegio: *fit quod tibi ego dixi—gliscit rabies—cave*

¹ The best example is Ba. 925 ff., the passage so excellent in many ways (see below, pp. 258–260). Others are Ru. 83 ff., Pe. 1 ff., 251 ff., Mer. 469, Ru. 593 ff.

² With this passage compare (with Lindsay's note in his annotated edition, on 562) Anacr. 31: *Θέλω, θέλω μαγῆραι· 'Εμαίνετ' 'Αλκμαίων τε Χά λευκόπους 'Ορέστης, τὰς μητέρας κτανόντες.*

³ See Suetonius, Aug. 85, for Augustus's parodic description of the fate of his tragedy, Aiax.

tibi, with Men. 828 Viden tu illic oculos virere? Compare also Ca. 595-596 Viden tu illi maculari corpus totum maculis luridis? Atra bilis agitat hominem, with Men. 829-830 ut viridis exoritur colos ex temporibus atque fronte! ut oculi scintillant vide!

I cannot help connecting these passages with certain characteristics of Ennius's tragic style. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome*, 142, writing of Ennius, well says:

In tragedy the preference of the age was for Greek themes with moving situations, such as the revenge of Medea, the guilt of the house of Atreus, the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and other portions of the Trojan Cycle, comprising in conflict, danger, and bloodshed the requisite appeals to pity and fear.

See Mommsen, *History of Rome*, English Translation, 2. 252; Dimsdale, *A History of Latin Literature*, 22. Scenes of suicide, surely, would be in keeping with such preference. Ennius's fondness for scenes in which some one goes mad is marked; he displays in general a love of the fantastic—for the prophetic frenzy of a Cassandra or the madness of an Alcumeo (this motive had already appeared in both Livius and Naevius). His Ajax, Eumenides, and Athamas all have to do with some form of mental derangement.

If my point here is well taken, it is one of great importance. Vahlen, in discussing the relations between Ennius and Plautus, felt obliged to content himself with a reference to the prologue of the *Poenulus* and to a few passages of Plautus, which, he thinks, show imitation of Ennius. I have not been able, myself, however, to see such imitation in these passages. See my remarks in *American Journal of Philology*, XXXII 16. But if I am right above, we have in the Plautine passages there discussed valuable contemporary evidence on two points: (a) Plautus's relation to Ennius, (b) the general question of Ennius's fame in his own time, a fame and reputation based on work antecedent to the composition, or at least to the publication, of the *Annales*. See further my remarks in *Classical Philology*, XIV, 49-51, with notes, and below, page 258.

Alcmaeon.—See above, under *Ajax*, page 238.

Alcumena.—The *Alcumena* (Ἀλκμήνη) - Amphitruo-Iupiter-Iuno-Hercules story is, of course, omnipresent in the *Amphitruo*. The *Alcumena* story appears again in *Mer.* 690. In

Mer. 667 ff. Dorippa, wife of Lysimachus senex, and Syra anus, her attendant, come from the country to town. Syra enters the house and finds there the ancilla that belongs to their neighbor Demipho, the amorous senex. Of course she misunderstands the situation. She hurries out again, and at 689-690 cries to her mistress: *I hac mecum, ut videas simul tuam Alcumenam paelicem, Iuno mea.*

Verses 83-88 of the *Rudens*, spoken by Sceparnio servos as he enters, to begin the play proper, are full of difficulty:

*Pro di immortales, tempestatem quouismodi
Neptunus nobis nocte hac misit proxuma!
Detexit ventus villam—quid verbis opust?
Non ventus fuit, verum Alcumena Euripidi:
ita omnis de tecto deturbavit tegulas;
inlustriores fecit fenestrasque indidit.*

Professor Sonnenschein, the latest editor of the *Rudens*, in neither version of his edition (the maior in 1891, the minor in 1901), offers a solution. All he was able to say was this: "The precise point of comparison between the wind and the lost play of Euripides, or the chief character in it, is obscure: the 'tertium quid' may be either violence in general or the unroofing of a building in particular". Nor does the further remark (in the editio maior) that "Hermann suggests that in the original of Diphilus the passage may have run: *τί δ' ἀνεμος; Ἀλκμήνη μὲν ἦν Εὐριπίδου*", explain the point of *Alcumena Euripidi*. Professor Sonnenschein is but reflecting the helplessness of the earlier editors of Plautus; one after the other they repeat, in terms or in substance, Lambinus's suggestion that there was a tragedy of Euripides in which "quum Alcumena pariebat, Jupiter faciebat spurcam tempestatem oriri". Thornton (Translation 2. 272-273) accepts this view, and even goes so far as to conjecture that the Euripidean play in question supplied material for the *Amphitruo*, especially for the more serious parts of the Plautine play. C. S. Harrington, in an edition of the *Captivi*, *Trinummus* and *Rudens*, with very brief notes (1870), took the same view.

Now, if there was a play of Euripides with such a theme, we should at once think in connection with it of Plautus *Amphitruo* 1059 ff., especially 1062 ff., 1094 ff.¹ But for the existence

¹ Nothing is said in this play of *ventus*!

of such a play neither Lambinus nor anyone else has produced any evidence whatever. What has happened is this, I take it: in trying to find some explanation of Sceparnio's words Lambinus thought of the *Amphitruo*, and from that argued for the theme of the Euripidean play Sceparnio had in mind. A good example of *petitio principii*, surely.

In editing Euripides for the Teubner text series Nauck gathered into Volume 3 (1892) the fragments of Euripides. On pages 20-23 he gives 17 citations, aggregating 28 verses, from an *'Αλκμήνη*. Prefixed to this collection is the following note by Nauck: "Omittit hanc fabulam marmor Albanum (C. I. 6047), argumentum ignoramus. Plautus Rudent. I. I. 4: *proh di . . . Euripidi*". Clearly Nauck did not question the reading in Plautus. But in the 28 verses of the *'Αλκμήνη* I fail to find anything that in the remotest degree resembles the situation in the *Rudens* or that in the *Amphitruo*.

Our investigation, evidently, has not carried us very far. If we keep the reading *Alcumena* (and there is no variation in the MSS), we are not in position to improve upon Lambinus's view, utterly unsupported though that view is.¹

¹ Nauck, l. c. 14-20, gives 23 fragments of two plays, by Euripides, called *'Αλκμείων* or *'Αλκμαίων*. The fragments aggregate 47 verses, whole or partial. It is clear enough from Nauck, 15, that in both plays the madness of Alcmaeon was in evidence. It would be possible to read in Ru. 86, in place of *Alcumena*, Plautus's form of *'Αλκμαίων*, *Alcumens*, seen in Ca. 562. For a scribe who had some knowledge of Plautus the thought of the *Amphitruo* might easily have led to the alteration of *Alcumens* to *Alcumena*. An allusion to the madness of Alcmaeon (*Alcumens*) seems more natural and more intelligible by itself in the mouth of one seeking to describe a wild tempest than would be a reference to *Alcumena*, who, in Plautus's *Amphitruo* at least, is the very embodiment of the stately calmness one associates with the Roman *matrona* at her best. As seen above, page 238, the madness of Alcmaeon was proverbial (see under *Ajax*). Palaeographically, the substitution of *Alcumena* for *Alcumens* is not inconceivable.

The suggestion made in the foregoing paragraph does far less violence to the MS evidence than is done by the emendation proposed, in *The Classical Review* 27. 159, by Mr. D. A. Slater: "In view of passages like the *Bacchae*, 576-689 and *H. F.* 874 sqq., it may be felt that some generalization would be more natural in this context, to suggest 'a storm such as blows in the pages of Euripides', rather than the name

When I wrote the above, I overlooked Professor Sonnenschein's discussion in *The Classical Review* 28 (1914), 40-41. He accepts a view, suggested first, apparently, by Engelmann, in 1882, that certain vases, two in number, show scenes or a scene which "must have formed part of the story of the lost play <the Alkmene> of Euripides." These vases display a storm of rain. On the basis of these vases, as interpreted by Engelmann, K. Wernicke, in *Pauly-Wissowa* 1. 1573 (1894), held that in the Alkmene of Euripides Amphitruo planned to burn Alcmena to death, but that the pyre was extinguished by a storm of rain sent by Zeus. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that Engelmann and others rightly interpret the vases (Nauck, *TGF.*², p. 386, refers to Engelmann's paper, and seems to favor his theory), we still need light on the contrast between *ventus* and *Alcumena Euripidi*. When Professor Sonnenschein says, "The story has disappeared from literature; but it has left a trace behind in the allusion which Plautus makes to it in *Rud.* 86," he is writing with less than his usual exactness: what does he mean by "the story"? Again, he stresses the fact that "the particular storm <of the Rudens> was <the Italics are his> accompanied by rain; see l. 576 f. . . ." But, in order to get the other member of Plautus's comparison, we need to know *what* it was that, in some play, Euripides mentioned in connection with the Alcmena story that would outdo a *ventus*. This we do not yet know, pace Professor Sonnenschein and the array of scholars he cited in his note.

of a single character (however demented) from a play that had perished". Hence he would read

non ventus fuit verum ruina Euripidi,

taking *ruina* in the sense of 'cataclysm'. He supposes that by haplography the *rum* of *verum* was lost before *ruina*, so that the line became NONVENTUSFVITVERVINAEURIPIDI. He writes thus: "... if we may assume that the allusion was explained by a reference in the margin to the 'Alcumenae filius', it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the editor or corrector reduced the line to metre by interpreting the forlorn A in the text to mean 'Alcumena'". This does violence at once to palaeography and to Plautus's manner, which, surely, is to use names rather than such vague generalities as *ruina* (for proof see the present paper, *passim*). Further, Mr. Slater's suggestions postulate a truly remarkable editor or corrector.

Alcumæus (Alcmaeon).—See above, under *Ajax*, page 238.

Argus (Io).—Au. 551-559 is a most interesting passage. Megadorus senex has sent cooks, etc., into the house of Euclio, his prospective father-in-law (280-360). The latter, desperate with fear for his pot of gold, drove them out with a club (406 ff.). Later he meets Megadorus, and the following dialogue ensues (550-559):

EVC. Pol ego te ut accusem merito meditabar. ME. Quid est?

EVC. Quid sit me rogitas? qui mihi omnis angulos
furum implevisti in aedibus misero mihi,
qui mi intro misti in aedis quingentos coquos
cum senis manibus, genere Geryonaceo;
quos si Argus servet, qui oculus totus fuit,
quem quondam Ioni Iuno custodem addidit,
is numquam servet, praeterea tibicinam,
quae mi interbibere sola, si vino scatat,
Corinthiensem fontem Pirenam potest.

A bookish passage, surely.

Bacchæ.—In several places reference is made to the Bacchæ and their orgies. In part these references reflect common modes of speech (are proverbial), in part they seem to be reflections of contemporary Roman life ¹ (in the early part of the second century B. C. the Bacchanalian orgies were giving trouble to the government at Rome: recall the *Senatus Consultum De Bacchanalibus*, and note especially Cas. 980, cited below), in part they seem to me bookish.² I have therefore included them all here.

In Am. 703-705 Sosia servos, rebuked by his master Amphitrūo for agreeing with Alcumena, cries:

Non tu scis? Bacchæ bacchanti si velis advorsarier,
ex insana insaniorem facies, feriet saepius;
si opsequare, una resolvas plaga.

In Au. 408 Congrio cocus, who has been driven violently forth by Euclio senex, cries, neque ego umquam nisi hodie ad Bacchas

¹ If this suggestion is correct, we have evidence of Plautus's interest in contemporary life, another case in which he reflects that life. Every proof that Plautus was interested in contemporary Roman life, social, religious, and political, and would and could refer to it, increases the possibility that he referred to contemporary writers and contemporary writings.

² In another paper I shall seek to show that Plautus knew the Bacchæ of Euripides.

veni in bacchanal coquinatum, ita me miserum et meos discipulos fustibus male contuderunt. Cf. also 411 a. Cas. 978 ff. is even more interesting (the speakers are a senex and two matronae—Lysidamus, Cleustrata and Myrrhina):

CL. Quin responde, tuo quid factum est pallio?

LY. Bacchae hercle, uxor—CL. Bacchae? LY. Bacchae hercle, uxor—MY. Nugatur sciens, nam ecastor nunc Bacchae nullae ludunt¹. LY. Oblitus fui, sed tamen Bacchae—CL. Quid Bacchae?

After this point the play is badly mutilated for some verses.

At Mi. 818 Lurcio puer enters, in answer to Palaestrio's call for Sceledrus, to say that the latter *sorbet dormiens, tetigit calicem clanculum* (823). He describes in comic vein the drinking of Sceledrus, thus (855 ff.):

opera maxuma,

ubi bacchabatur aula, cassabant cadi.

PA. Abi, abi intro iam. Vos in cella vinaria bacchanal facitis.

Interesting too is Mi. 1015–1016. In 1013 Palaestrio servos describes himself to Milphidippa ancilla as *socium tuorum conciliorum et participem consiliorum*. In 1016 she says: *Cedo signum, si harunc Baccharum es*; one is strongly tempted to render by 'Give the password'. Palaestrio does in fact give the password when he replies at once, *Amat mulier quaedam quendam*.

References in the Bacchides to the Bacchae were of course inevitable. In 53 Pistoclerus adulescens, resisting Bacchis's invitation to enter her house, says, Bacchis, Bacchas metuo et bacchanal tuom. In 368 Lydus paedagogus calls the house of the Bacchides *ianuam hanc Orci*; in 371 he cries, Bacchides non Bacchides, sed Bacchae sunt acerrumae. Cf. 372 ff. Finally, in Men. 835 ff., Menaechmus II Syracusanus, pretending to be mad, cries wildly:

Euhoe atque euhoe², Bromie, quo me in silvam venatum vocas?

Audio, sed non abire possum ab his regionibus:

ita illa me ab laeva rabiosa femina adservat canes.

¹ It is hard not to see here an allusion to efforts by the government to repress the Bacchanalian orgies: see above, page 243.

² That such a passage may rest on books (be parodic), as well as on actual life, can be seen from e. g. Horace, Carm. 2. 19, 3. 25.

The *matrona* is here thought of as one of the *Bacchae*. Here, surely, there is travesty of some tragic original: on this whole scene see pp. 238 f. For a reference to the *Bacchae* which is beyond question bookish, see below, under *Pentheus*, page 252.

Bellerophon.—In the *Bacchides* *Chrysalus servos* carries a letter from *Mnesilochus* to his father *Nicobulus*, in which the son had asked his father to keep *Chrysalus* bound at home (735–747). *Nicobulus*, having read the letter (790–793), bids *Chrysalus* wait a moment (794), and goes within his house, to return at 799 with slaves who are to bind *Chrysalus*. At 809 he explains by showing the letter to *Chrysalus*¹ and saying, *Em hae te vinciri iubent*. At 810–811 the latter rejoins, with great pretended bitterness: *Aha, Bellerophantam tuos me fecit filius: egomet tabellas tetuli ut vincirer*.

Circe.—In *Epid.* 604 *Periphanes senex* calls the girl whom he had mistakenly supposed to be his daughter *hanc . . . Circam Solis filiam*.

Danaides.—In *Ps.* 101–102 *Pseudolus servos* says to his master *Calidorus*:

quod tu istis lacrumis te probare postulas,
non pluris refert quam si imbrim in cribrum geras.

See *Lorenz and Morris ad loc.* In 369 *Pseudolus* says *In pertusum ingerimus dicta dolium: operam ludimus*. See *Morris* here. If the reference in these passages really is to the story of the *Danaides*, the omission of the name is significant.

Dirce.—In *Ps.* 196 ff. *Ballio leno*, threatening *Aeschrodora meretrix* unless she brings him much profit, says (198–201): *cras te quasi Dircam olim ut memorant duo gnati Iovis devinxere ad taurum, item ego te distringam ad carnarium: id tibi profecto taurus fiet*.

Eurydice-Orpheus.—See *Hec.* 852–853, discussed above, page 237, under *Orcus*.

Ganymedes.—In *Men.* 110 *Menaechmus I Epidamniensis* comes out of his house, intending to carry to *Erotium meretrix* a *palla* which he has stolen from his wife. As he commends himself on his shrewdness in overreaching his wife, *Peniculus*

¹ *Chrysalus servos* can read: cf. 1023.

parasitus overhears him and applies for a share of the plunder (135). At 141 ff. this dialogue ensues:

MEN. Vin tu facinus luculentum inspicere? PE. Quis id coxit coquos?
Iam sciam, si quid titubatumst, ubi reliquias videro.

MEN. Dic mi, enumquam tu vidisti tabulam pictam¹ in pariete
ubi aquila Catameitum raperet aut ubi Venus Adoneum?²

PE. Saepe. Sed quid istae picturae ad me attinent?

Menaechmus's allusion is, to be sure, rather far-fetched; he thinks of himself as the eagle or as Venus, of the cloak as Ganymede or as Adonis. But precisely in this, as in the (deliberate) perversion of the name Ganymedes, lies part of the fun of this grandiloquent utterance (see also note 2, below).

There may be another reference to the story of Ganymede, in a corrupt passage, Tr. 946-947. The sycophanta, in a description of his imaginary journeyings, had declared in 940 ff. that he had reached heaven itself. Charmides senex then says: pudicum neminem . . . † re oportet, qui aps terra ad caelum pervenerit.

Geryones.—See above, under Argus, page 243.

Halcyones.—Compare Cas. Prol. 24-26 (a non-Plautine prologue, in part), in an address to the spectators:

Ne quis formidet flagitorem suum;
ludi sunt, ludus datus est argentariis;
tranquillum est, Alcedonia sunt circum forum.

In Poe. 355-356 Agorastocles adulescens says to his slave Milphio:

¹ On the reference here to painting see my paper, *References to Painting in Plautus and Terence*, *Classical Philology*, XII, 152-153.

² For Venus's love of Adonis see Dümmler, in Pauly-Wissowa I. 391-392. Compare especially these words: "Dass das Verhältnis notwendig als bräutliches, keusches aufgefasst worden sei . . . ist nicht als wesentlich für den Kult zuzugeben; die Vorstellung wurde erst durch die hellenistische Kunst begünstigt, die A., ihn mit Eros vermischend, in geradezu unreifem Alter darstellt. Aus einem solchen Bilde macht Plautus Men. I. 2. 34 einen Raub des A. durch Aphrodite. Die alexandrinische Feier <for which see Dümmler 386; cf. Theocr. 15> verbietet, das Verhältnis als platonisch aufzufassen, ganz abgesehen von dem Schmutz der Komödie, welcher keinen echt sagenhaften Hintergrund hat".

Plautus seems, then, to have blundered, whether by accident or by design. A deliberate perversion or confusion would be sufficiently humorous.

Iam hercle tu periisti, nisi illam mihi tam tranquillam facis
quam mare olimst quom ibi alcedo pullos educit suos.

Hercules.—The *Amphitruo* is concerned throughout, of course, with Hercules. For his birth and his feat in strangling the snakes (so well represented e. g. by the well-known fresco in the House of the Vettii at Pompeii) see 1107–1116, a narrative by Bromia ancilla.

In Pe. 1–5 Toxilus servos says to Sagaristio servos:

Qui amans egens ingressus est princeps in Amoris vias
superavit aerumnis is suis aerumnas Herculi,
nam cum leone, cum excetra, cum cervo, cum apro Aetolico,
cum avibus Stymphalicis, cum Antaeo deluctari mavelim
quam cum Amore: ita fio miser quaerendo argento mutuo . . .

In Epid. 177–178 Periphanes senex, reminded of his dead wife, says:

Hercules ego fui, dum illa mecum fuit,
neque sexta aerumna acerbior Herculi quam illa mihi obiectast.

In Men. 199 ff. Menaechmus I Epidamniensis, speaking of his theft of a *palla* from his wife, proudly says:

Nimio ego hanc periculo
surrupui hodie: meo quidem animo ab Hippolyta subcingulum haud
Hercules aequè magno umquam apstulit periculo.

In Ba. 109 ff. Lydus paedagogus seeks to keep his younger master Pistoclerus out of the clutches of the Bacchides. At 147 Pistoclerus says: Omitte, Lyde, ac cave malo. Lydus, cut to the quick, cries (151 ff.):

LY. Vixisse nimio satiust iam quam vivere.
Magistron quemquam discipulum minitariet!
Nil moror discipulos mi esse iam plenos sanguinis:
valens adflctat me vacivom virium.

PI. Fiam, ut ego opinor, Hercules, tu autem Linus.

LY. Pol metuo magis ne Phoenix tuis factis fuam
teque ad patrem esse mortuom renuntiem.

PI. Satis historiarumst¹.

Lydus keeps the Linus story in mind; in 440–441, contrasting contemporary education with that of the good old days, he says: at nunc prius quam septuennis est, si attingas eum manu, extemplo puer paedagogo tabula dirrumpit caput.

¹ A very significant word here: compare Men. 247–248 and see my remarks in *Classical Philology*, II, 295, n. 1.

In Eun. 1026 ff. Thraso miles refers to the Hercules-Omphale story :

GN. Quid coeptas, Thraso?

TH. Egone? ut Thaidi me dedam et faciam quod iubeat. GN. Quid est? qui minus¹ quam Hercules servivit Omphalae? GN. Exemplum placet.

Utinam tibi committigari videam sandalio caput.

The words of the senex in Men. 795-797, as he chides his daughter, are perhaps in point: servirin tibi postulas viros? dare una opera pensum postules, inter ancillas sedere iubeas, lanam carere.

For the Hercules-Phoenix story see Ba. 151 ff. cited above, page 247.

In Cas. 396 ff. we have this dialogue between two slaves :

CH. Deos quaeso—ut tua sors ex sitella ecfugerit.

OL. Ain tu? quia tute es fugitivos, omnis te imitari cupis? utinam tua quidem < tibi > sic, uti Herculeis praedicant quondam prognatis, in sortiundo sors deliquerit.

CH. Tu ut liquescas ipse, actutum virgis calefactabere.

See Naudet's edition here, and Pausanias 4. 3. 3-5, 4. 5. 1, with the notes in the Hitzig-Blümner edition.²

Obscure is Ru. 485-490. There Labrax leno, fresh from shipwreck, exclaims :

† qui homo sese miserum et mendicum volet,†
Neptuno credat sese atque aetatem suam,
nam si quis cum eo quid rei commiscuit,
ad hoc exemplum amittit ornatum domum.
Edepol, Libertas, lepida es, quae numquam pedem
voluisti in navem cum Hercule una imponere.

The commentators have been baffled here. Sonnenschein, in both editions (1891, 1901), merely wrote, "An allusion to some

¹ Sc. Thaidi me dedam.

² This is an extremely interesting passage. One would hardly expect an average audience, Roman or modern, to be familiar with the story of the trickery of Cresphontes and Temenus. This may be true, as has been argued, of others of the allusions cited in this paper. Indeed, it has been maintained "that the very strangeness of many things in the *comoedia palliata* added to the interest of the plays; the existence of the togata side by side with the palliata lends considerable support to this view" (so Professor A. L. Wheeler, in a review of Leffingwell, *Social and Private Life at Rome in the Time of Plautus and Terence*, which is to appear in *The Classical Weekly*, XIII).

lost myth about Herakles. Lucian (*De mercede conductis*, 23) says that *Libertas* never enters the house of a rich man". The reference to Lucian had been made by Gruter, and, after Gruter, by Leo, in his text-edition (1896). Ussing saw, somehow, a reference to the Hercules-Omphale story (for the appearance of that story in Plautus see above, page 248). Professor A. F. West, in A. J. P. XV 356, interpreted Hercules here and in Mo. 984, <Tranio> vel Herculi † *conterere quaestum potest* †, as a name for a very rich man. This interpretation he connects with the statement of Sonnenschein, quoted above, about Lucian *De Mercede Conductis* 23. There is, of course, no difficulty in thus interpreting Hercules—in the right context: see e. g. Horace, *Serm.* 2. 6. 10–14, and the editors there. Assuming, then, for the moment that Professor West's view of our passage is correct, compare Au. 226–235, said by *Euclio senex*, pauper, to *Megadorus senex*, *vir ditissimus*, his prospective son-in-law:

Venit hoc mihi, Megadore, in mentem, ted esse hominem divitem,
factiosum, me item esse hominem pauperum pauperrimum;
nunc si filiam locassim meam tibi, in mentem venit
te bovem esse et me esse asellum: ubi tecum coniunctus siem,
ubi onus nequeam ferre pariter, iaceam ego asinus in luto,
tu me bos magis huius respicias gnatus quasi numquam siem.
Et te utar iniquiore et meum me ordo inrideat,
neutrui habeam stabile stabulum, si quid divorti fuat:
asini me mordicibus scindant, boves incursent cornibus.
Hoc magnum est periculum, ab asinis ad boves transcendere.

But, if this is the thought of Ru. 485–490, Lucian *De Mercede Conductis*, 23, is not in point, for nothing is said there to the effect that "*Libertas* never enters the house of a rich man". There to the man who plans to work for pay these words are spoken: καὶ πρῶτόν γε μέμνησο μηκέτι ἐλεύθερον τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου μηδὲ εὐπατρίδην σεαυτὸν οἰεσθαι· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα, τὸ γένος, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τοὺς προγόνους ἔξω τοῦ ὁδοῦ καταλείπων ἴσθι, ἐπειδὴν ἐπὶ τοιαύτην σεαυτὸν λατρείαν ἀπεμπολήσας εἰσῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἐβελήσει σοι ἡ Ἐλευθερία ξυνεισελθεῖν ἐφ' οὕτως ἀγεννῆ πράγματα καὶ ταπεινὰ εἰσιόντι. Δοῦλος οὖν, εἰ καὶ πᾶν ἀχθέσῃ τῷ ὀνόματι, καὶ οὐχ ἑνός, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν δοῦλος ἀναγκαιῶς ἔσῃ καὶ θητεύσεις κάτω νενευκῶς ἔωθεν εἰς ἐσπέραν, "ἀεκελίφ' ἐπὶ μισθῷ" Plainly, Lucian's words throw light on our passage only by showing that *Libertas* was particular about the company she kept.

Manifestly, no convincing guess concerning the meaning of our passage has yet been made. If another may be added, I would suggest as a sufficient thought here, whether it was that of Diphilus and Plautus or not, the idea that Libertas was loath to set foot on shipboard or anywhere else with one so overmastering as Hercules had shown himself to be.

In Ru. 798 ff. *Daemones senex* sends *Turbalio servos* to bring from the house two stout *clavae*. When *Turbalio* comes back with the clubs, *Daemones* says (804) *Ehem, optume edepol eccum clavator advenit*; at 807-808 he bids *Turbalio* and *Sparax*, each with a club, to stand on either side of *Labrax leno*, to keep him from molesting the girls and from going away. Finally, when we remember that the scene is laid before a *fanum Veneris*, we shall understand *Labrax's* words at 821 ff.: *Heu hercle ne istic fana mutantur cito: iam hoc Herculi fit Veneris fanum quod fuit: ita duo destituit signa hic cum clavis senex.*

I group here minor references to Hercules.—In Cu. 358 *Curculio parasitus* says: *talos arripio, invoco almam meam nutricem Herculem, iacto basilicum.* Between Hercules, of the large appetite, and a parasite sympathy was sure to exist. See *Naudet's* note.—In St. 218 ff. *Gelasimus parasitus* is auctioning his property, his *logi ridiculi*. In 221 ff. he cries, *Age, licemini. Qui cena poscit? ecqui poscit prandio? (Hercules te amabit)—prandio, cena tibi. Ehem, adnuistin?* But the text here is uncertain: see *Lindsay*. The passage closes with 232-233: *Haec veniisse iam opus est quantum potest, uti decumam partem Herculi polluceam.* See *Naudet's* note. For tithes to Hercules see also Ba. 663-666 (*servos*), Mo. 984 (? *servos*), and, best of all, Tru. 559-565 (*servos*).—In Ru. 1225, *Daemones senex*, having been worsted by *Trachalio servos* in their duel of *licet's*, exclaims, *Hercules istum infelicet cum sua licentia.*

Hippolyta.—See above, page 247, under Hercules.

Hyacinthus.—In Ba. 109 ff. *Lydus paedagogus* seeks to deter *Pistoclerus adulescens* from entering *Bacchis's* house. Finally, in 137 ff., we have this dialogue:

PI. Tace atque sequere, Lyde, me. LY. Illuc sis vide!
non paedagogum iam me, sed Lydum vocat.

PI. Non par videtur neque sit consentaneum,
 quom † haec intus † sit et cum amica accubet,
 quomque osculetur et convivae alii accubent,
 praesentibus illis paedagogus ut siet.

Havet, according to Lindsay, suggested, in verse 140, cum *paris* intus sit et cum cum amica accubet. Lindsay himself thinks that quom Hyacinthus intus sit may be right, but he does not indicate wherein a reference to Hyacinthus would be appropriate here. He was doubtless thinking of the erotic version of the Hyacinthus story.

Icarus.—In Mer. 486–489 Naudet saw a reference to the story of Icarus:

EU. Visne eam ad portum—CH. Qui potius quam voles? EU. atque
 eximam
 mulierem pretio? CH. Qui potius quam auro expendas? EU. Unde
 erit?

CH. Achillem orabo aurum mihi det Hector qui expensus fuit.

EU. Sanun es?

Charinus is throughout sarcastic. The ultimate sense of the passage is as follows: 'Do you want me to go (walk) to the harbor ——?' 'No, fly.'—'and get the woman by paying for her?' 'Why, of course, buy her'. 'Where's the money to come from?' 'Oh, I'll ask Achilles to give me the money he got as ransom for Hector'. Charinus's two answers mean in the last analysis: 'of course you've got to walk, *you* can't fly', and 'pay for her, in gold, of course'. The allusion to the Achilles story increases somewhat the possibility that Naudet is right in seeing a reference to the Icarus story: the allusions that concern us come *catervatim*, so to say; see e. g. above, page 243, under Argus, the passages referred to page 238, note 1, and below, pages 258–260, under Ulixes.

Linus.—See above, under Hercules, page 247.

Lycurgus (insanus).—See above, under Ajax, page 238.

Medea, Pelias.—In Ps. 790–865 Ballio leno is abusing a cocus whom he has hired *a foro*. The latter, unruffled, bids Ballio stop worrying, adding (868 ff.) sorbitione faciam ego hodie te mea item ut Medea Peliam concoxit senem, quem medicamento et suis venenis dicitur fecisse rusus ex sene adolescentulum: item ego te faciam. See the editors ad loc., especially Morris.

Minerva.—In Hau. 1035–1037, in a dialogue between Clitipho adulescens and Chremes, his father, there is an interesting use of the story of Minerva's birth:

CL. Non sunt haec parentis dicta. CH. Non, si ex capite sis meo natus, item ut aiunt Minervam esse ex Iove, ea causa magis patiar, Clitipho, flagitiis tuis me infamem fieri.

Mulciber.—See below, under Achilles, page 255.

Nerio.—In Tru. 515 Stratophanes miles, entering, addresses Phronesium meretrix thus: Mars peregre adveniēns salutāt Nerienem uxorem suam. See Gellius 13. 21, especially 11 ff.

Oedipus.—In Andr. 194 Davus servos, pretending not to understand the hint his master is trying to give him, says Davus sum, non Oedipus. In Poe. 443–444 Milphio says of his master's wild utterances, isti quidem hercle orationi Oedipo opust coniectore, qui Sphingi interpretis fuit.

Omphale.—See Eun. 1026 ff., Men. 795 ff., cited above, under Hercules, page 248.

Ops.—In Mi. 1082 the miles says: postriduo natus sum ego, mulier, quam Iuppiter ex Ope natust. Compare Cis. 512 ff., where Alcesimarchus adulescens says, with interruptions by Melaenis lena:

itaque me Iuno regina et Iovis supremi filia,
itaque me Saturnus eiūs patruos—ME. Ecator pater.

AL. itaque me Ops opulenta, illius avia—ME. Immo mater quidem.

The Miles passage helps us to see that *eiūs* and *illius* refer to Jupiter. In Pe. 251 ff. Sagaristio servos, entering, appeals to *Iovi opulento, incluto, Ope gnato*, etc. Brix, on Mi. l. c., refers to Livy 39. 22. 4, and the editors there. See also Preller-Jordan, *Römische Mythologie**, 2. 20 ff.

Orestes.—See above, page 238.

Orpheus-Eurydice.—See above, under Orcus, page 237.

Pentheus.—In Mer. 469 Charinus adulescens, entering, says: Pentheum diripuisse aiiunt Bacchas: nugas maxumas fuisse credo, praeut quo pacto ego divorsus distrahor. Cf. also a fragment, incomplete, of the *Vidularia*: Eiusdem Bacchae fecerunt nostram navem Pentheum.

Phaon.—In Mi. 1246–1247 Palaestrio servos says to the miles: nulli mortali scio optigisse hoc nisi duobus, tibi et Phaoni Lesbio, tam mulier se ut amaret.

Philomela, Progne.—In Ru. 593 ff. Daemones senex, entering, soliloquizes concerning a dream of the past night (596–

597). A *simia* had been trying to reach a *nidus hirundininus*, but in vain; finally it had sought to borrow a ladder from Daemones (598-602). Compare now 603 ff.: ego ad hoc exemplum simiae respondeo . . . natas ex Philomela ac Progne esse hirundines: ago cum illa ne quid noceat meis popularibus.¹ See also, below, on this page, under Tereus.

Phoenix.—See above, under Hercules, page 247.

Phrixus.—In Ba. 239-243 Chrysalus servos refers in a very interesting way to the story of the *aries Phriri* (*extexam* ego illum pulchre iam, si di volunt, in 239 paves the way very naturally for 241-242).

Porthaon.—In Men. 745 Menaechmus II Syracusanus, addressing the matrona, says: Ego te simitu novi cum Porthaone. Cf. his words to her at 748: Novi cum Calcha simul.

Rhadamanthus.—In Tr. 928 the sycophanta, master supreme of tall talk, when asked to give Charmides's whereabouts, says: Pol illum reliqui ad Rhadamanthem in Cercopio. See Brix and Fairclough ad loc.

Sibulla.—In Ps. 25-26 Pseudolus servos says of the letter written by the meretrix to Calidorus adulescens: has quidem pol credo nisi Sibulla legerit, interpretari alium potesse neminem.

Sisyphus.—In Eun. 1084-1085 Gnatho parasitus has the Sisyphus story in mind: Unum etiam hoc vos oro, ut me in vostrum gregem recipiatis: satis diu hoc iam saxum vorso. The *saxum* is the miles. See Donatus and Fabia ad loc.

Sphinx.—See above, under *Oedipus*, page 252.

Tereus.—See under Philomela, Progne, pages 252 f. In Ru. 508-509 Charmides senex, the voluptuous Sicilian friend of Labrax leno, says to Labrax: Scelestiozem cenam cenavi tuam quam quae Thyestae quondam aut posita est Tereo.

Thyestes.—See above, under Tereus.

Titanes.—In Pe. 26 Toxilus servos asks: Quid ego faciam? disne advorser? quasi Titani cum is belligerem quibus sat esse non queam?²

¹ Compare the appeal of Epops in Aristophanes, Aves 366-368 to the birds to spare Peisthetaerus and Euelpides, τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικὸς οὐτε ξυγγενεὶ καὶ φιλῆτα.

² In Men. 853 f. Menaechmus II Syracusanus, pretending to be mad, says, Hau male illanc amovi: <amoveo> nunc hunc inpurissimum,

Volcanus.—In Ru. 761 Labrax leno, after Daemones has forbidden him to touch the maidens, says: *Volcanum adducam*, is Venerist advorsarius. For the story he has in mind compare e. g. Odyssey 8. 270–365. See Naudet's note. See also above, under Mulciber, page 252.

Miscellaneous Matters.—In Pe. 549 ff. Sagaristio servos is talking to the virgo whom he is bringing in as a supposed prisoner of war; he asks her opinion of Athens and receives a clever answer (549–550). In 553–554 we have this further dialogue: SAG. Ut munitum muro tibi visum oppidumst? VI. Si incolae bene sunt morati, id pulchre moenitum arbitror, etc. There may be a reference to Sparta and its human walls. In Tr. 547–552 there is an elaborate reference to the Fortuntorum Insulae. In As. 34, in the words of Libanus servos, apud fustitudinas, ferri crepinas insulas, I see a parodic reference again to these Islands.

B. STORIES RELATING TO THE TROJAN WAR (INVOLVING HOMER AND THE CYCLIC POETS).¹

Attention was called, p. 232, n. 3, to the rôle played by the story of Troy in early Roman tragedy. Comedy, too, was interested in this theme. At any rate, we find in Plautus (though not in Terence) references repeatedly to well-known details of the story still to be seen in the Iliad and the Odyssey, but which, in the days when the so-called Cyclic Poems were yet extant, was far more fully rounded out for both Greeks and Romans than it can be for us.

Achilles.—In Tru. 730–731 Astaphium ancilla says to Diniarchus adulescens: Stultus es qui facta infecta facere verbis postules. Theti' quoque etiam lamentando pausam fecit filio.

barbatum, tremulum *Titanum* qui cluet Cycno patre. So Lindsay, and Brix-Niemeyer², with the MSS, rightly. Most editors read *Tithonum* for *Titanum*. But they are obliged to admit that nowhere else is Tithonus son of Cycnus. This consideration would, of course, be without weight if the MSS gave *Tithonum*; in this very play, 141–143, as shown above, page 246, note 2, we have a story without parallel in extant classical literature.

¹To get the properly cumulative effect, it has seemed best to group under this one caption all the pertinent material.

Epid. 29-38 is a very interesting passage. Two slaves are talking, Thesprio, slave of Stratippocles, who has just come back from Thebes from some campaign, and Epidicus:

EP. Ubi arma sunt Stratippocli?

TH. Pol illa ad hostis transfugerunt. EP. Armane? TH. Atque quidem cito.

EP. Serione dici' tu?

TH. Serio, inquam: hostes habent.

EP. Edepol facinus inprobum. TH. At iam ante alii fecerunt idem¹.

Erit illi illa res honori. EP. Qui? TH. Quia ante aliis fuit².

Mulciber, credo, arma fecit quae habuit Stratippocles:

travolaverunt ad hostis³. EP. Tum ille prognatus Theti sine perdat: alia adportabunt ei Neri filiae.

Id modo videndum est, ut materies suppetat scutariis, si in singulis stipendiis is ad hostis exuvias dabit⁴.

In Mi. 59 ff. Artotrogus parasitus tells how the day before some women had questioned him concerning the miles. Cf. 61 ff.:

AR. Rogitabant: "Hicine Achilles est?", inquit mihi.

"Immo eius frater"⁵, inquam, "est". Ibi illarum altera

"Ergo mecastor pulcher est" inquit mihi,

"et liberalis. Vide caesaries quam decet".

Cf. also 68. In Mi. 1054a, 1055 Milphidippa ancilla calls the soldier Mi-Achilles . . . urbicaepe, occisor regum. In Mi.

¹ Leo and Lindsay rightly keep the MS order of the verses.

² Gray ad loc. holds that "this probably alludes to some well-known persons who had undeservedly received promotion. They are the *βυζωνίδες* of Aristophanes, Nub. 353, Pax 1186". Scaliger and Naudet had held this view long before: see the note in the Lemaire edition. Certainly the passage sounds definite enough; it would at any rate be far more effective if aimed at contemporary events. In that case, see above, page 243, note 1, page 244, note 1.

It strikes me, however, that we may have here after all rather a parody of passages like those in Archilochus, Alcaeus, and Anacreon to which Horace's famous phrase, *relicta non bene parmula*, C. 2. 7. 10, goes back. See Smith's note there.

³ The sense is 'No human workman made those arms: they had wings'. There is here, of course, a *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* joke; Vulcan made arms for Achilles (and for Aeneas) for *fighting*, not for *flighting*, if the *lusus verborum* may be allowed.

⁴ For the language cf. Juvenal 3. 310-311.

⁵ Wild burlesque, of course; Achilles had no brother. In the Iliad Achilles is long-haired, and *καυτός*. See Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, 175-177.

1284 ff. Pleusicles adulescens, entering in the disguise of a *nauclerus*, moralizes on the strange conduct to which love has driven men, himself included. At 1289, he begins his enumeration of these things with the words *Mitto iam ut occidi Achilles civis passus est*. See Mer. 486 ff., discussed above, under Icarus, page 251.

Alexander (Paris).—In Mi. 777–778 Palaestrio servos says of the miles, *Isque Alexandri praestare praedicat formam suam*. See also below, pages 259–260, the analysis of the contents of Ba. 925 ff.

Autolycus.—In Ba. 275 Nicobulus senex refers to Autolycus, grandfather of Ulysses, *furacitate celeberrimus*, thus: *Deceptus sum: Autolyco hospiti aurum credidi*.

Calchas.—In Men. 748–749 the dialogue between the *matrona* and Menaechmus II Syracusanus runs thus (she refers to her father):

MA. Novistin tu illum? MEN. Novi cum Calcha simul:
eodem die illum vidi quo te ante hunc diem.

Cf. his words at 745, *Ego te simitu novi cum Porthaone*. In Mer. 945, after Charinus, crazed by love, had told Eutychus that he had traveled in search of his lost love to Chalcis and there had got information concerning her from a *hospes Zacyntho* (940–944), the latter exclaims, *Calchas iste quidem Zacynthiust*.

Hecuba.—Hecuba's story, in one detail at least, was in Plautus's mind in several passages. Witness the interesting dialogue in Men. 713–718 between the *matrona* and Menaechmus II Syracusanus, in which Menaechmus refers to the story of Hecuba's transformation into a dog (for which cf. e. g. Euripides, *Hecuba* 1265). Cf. 936. Possibly, too, Plautus had this story in mind in Cas. 317–320 (dialogue between Lysidamus senex and Olumpio servos):

LY. Quid istuc est? quicum litigas, Olumpio?
OL. Cum eadem qua tu semper. LY. Cum uxori mea?
OL. Quam tu mihi uxorem? quasi venator tu quidem es,
dies atque noctes cum cane aetatem exigis.

Yet *cane* in 320 may be merely a common term of opprobrium and 319–320 may remind us rather of Horace C. 1. 1. 25–28.

For another reference to Hecuba see below, pages 259–260, in the discussion of Ba. 925 ff.

Hector.—In Cas. 991 ff., when Olumpio vilicus turns on his master, Lysidamus senex, this dialogue ensues:

LY. Non taces? OL. Non hercle vero taceo. Nam tu maxumo
me opsecravisti opere Casinam ut poscerem uxorem mihi
tui amoris caussa. LY. Ego istuc feci? OL. Immo Hector Ilius—
LY. te quidem oppresset¹.

The Teubner text had printed *Immo Hector Ilius te quidem oppressit*, and had distributed the dialogue differently; the sentence *Immo . . . oppressit* was allotted to Cleustrata matrona. Lindsay refers to Palmer, *Hermathena* 12. 83. Lindsay's text and distribution of parts are excellent. Olumpio starts to say, sarcastically, 'No, I didn't do it, Trojan Hector <did it>'. The sarcasm is of a piece with that seen e. g. in Men. 748–749 MA. Novistin tu illum? MEN. Novi cum Calcha simul: eodem die illum vidi quo te ante hunc diem. See also Men. 745 Ego te simitu novi cum Porthaone. For another reference to Hector see above, under Icarus, page 251.

Iphigenia.—In Epid. 488–490 there is probably a reference, in the dialogue between the miles and the senex, to the Iphigenia story:

MI. Em istic homo te articulatim concidit, senex,
tuo' servos. PE. Quid 'concidit'? MI. Sic suspiciost,
nam pro fidicina haec cerva supposita est tibi.

See Gray ad loc.

Nestor.—In Men. 934 ff. the Medicus and the senex talk thus about Menaechmus II Syracusanus:

MED. Nunc homo insanire ocepit: de illis verbis cave tibi.
SE. Immo Nestor nunc quidem est de verbis, praeut dudum fuit.

Penelope.—In St. 1–9 there is a most elaborate reference to Penelope's sorrow because of the long absence of Ulysses (the speaker, Panegyris, has heard nothing of her husband in more than two years: see 29–36): Credo ego miseram fuisse Penelopam, soror, suo ex animo, quae tam diu vidua viro suo caruit, nam nos eius animum de nostris factis noscimus, quarum viri hinc apsunt, quorumque nos negotiis apsentum, ita ut aequom est, sollicitae noctes et dies, soror, sumus semper.

¹ This sort of interruption is frequent in the Casina.

Talthybius.—In St. 274 ff. Pinacium, rather tipsy ¹ (270 ff.), is bringing good news to his mistress. In 305 ff. he cries, *contundam facta Talthubi contemnamque omnis nuntios simulque ad cursuram meditabor me ad ludos Olumpios*.

Ulixes.—In plays in which the chief rôle is borne by the tricky slave we should naturally expect references to Ulixes.²

In Ba. 21–23, among the fragments of this play, we have a reference to the sorrows of Ulixes, particularly to the sorrows caused by his wanderings (the words are spoken, apparently, by one of the Bacchides) :

Ulixem audiui fuisse aerumnosissimum
qui annos viginti errans a patria afit;
verum hic adulescens multo Ulixem anteit < fide >
qui ilico errat intra muros civicos³.

In Ba. 925–978 there is a long parody, in general of many Greek and Latin plays portraying the fall of Troy and its consequences, in particular, I suspect, of Ennius; the parody is uttered by Chrysalus servos. In this Ulixes has a place more than once. Compare 940 ff.: *Ego sum Ulixes, quoius consilio haec gerunt; 946 miles Menelaust, ego Agamemno, idem Ulixes Lartius; 949 ff. nam illi (=adv., 'there,' i. e. at Troy) itidem Ulixem audiui, ut ego sum, fuisse et audacem et malum: dolis ego deprensus sum, ille mendicans paene inventus interit, dum ibi exquirat fata Iliorum; adsimiliter mi hodie optigit; victus sum, sed dolis me exemi: item se ille servavit dolis; 962 ff. ibi vix me exsolvi: atque id periculum adsimilo, Ulixem ut praedicant cognitum ab Helena esse proditum Hecubae; sed, ut olim ille se blanditiis exemit et persuasit se ut amitteret, item ego dolis me illo extuli e periculo et decepi senem. Cf. p. 239.*

¹ See the discussion of this passage in my paper, *References to Painting in Plautus and Terence*, *Classical Philology*, XII, 151–152.

² On this conception of Ulixes as a feature of Greek tragedy see Conington, *Vergil*,⁴ 2. xxxvi. Such a conception, of course, suited the Romans as descendants of the Trojans: see Conington, *ibid.* xxiv–xxvii.

³ The passage is cited by Charisius, to illustrate *ilico* (the word seems to mean 'forthwith', i. e. even before he leaves his patria). *fide* in 23 is due to Leo; Lindsay reads it, but doubtfully. I have not been able to see how the word can be fitted into the context. What we need is a dissyllabic word meaning 'wandering' or 'trouble'. Professor Paul Nixon, in his text and translation (1916), omits *fide*: evidently to him too it was meaningless. For the passage as a whole compare St. 1–9, quoted above, under Penelope, page 257.

In Ps. 1063-1064 *Simo senex*, entering, says: *Visso quid rerum meus Ulixes egerit, iamne habeat signum ex arce Ballionia*. *Pseudolus*, of course, is here *Ulixes*, and the *signum* (the *Palladium*) is the girl owned by *Ballio*. Again, in 1243-1244, *Simo* says of *Pseudolus*: *Nimis illic mortalis doctus, nimis vorsutus, nimis malus; superavit dolum Troianum atque Ulixem Pseudolus*.¹

In Men. 899 ff. *Menaechmus I Epidamniensis*, for whom things have turned out badly, entering, says: *Edepol ne hic dies pervorsus atque advorsus mi optigit: quae me clam ratus sum facere, omnia ea fecit palam parasitus qui me complevit flagiti et formidinis, meus Ulixes, suo qui regi tantum concivit mali*.²

I group here several very general references. In Mi. 1025 *Milphidippa ancilla* calls the soldier *Ilium*, thus: *quo pacto hoc Ilium appelli velis, id fero ad te consilium*. So in the fine parody in Ba. 925 ff. the *senex* of the play is referred to as *Ilium* (945, 948, 972), and as *Priamus* (978). In Mi. 740 ff. *Pleusicles adulescens*, praising *Periplecomenus senex* for his hospitality, declares that usually when a guest is three days together at one's house *east odiorum Ilias* (743). In Tru. 482 ff. *Stratophanes miles*, entering, declares that he will not, as many others have done, recount his battles: *scio ego multos memoravisse milites mendacium: et Homerionida et postilla mille memorari potest, qui et convicti et condemnati falsis de pugnis sient* (see also the following lines).³

Finally, as the climax of this paper, I take up again a passage to which I have already often referred, Ba. 925-978, the best of all parodies in Plautus, spoken by *Chrysalus servos*. It is impossible to do this passage justice. Lack of space forbids the

¹ I think at once of *Livius Andronicus's* line: *Virum mihi, Camena, insece vorsutum*. On this verse see my remarks in A. J. P., XXXV 17-19; XXXIX 109.

² *Brix-Niemeyer** think here of *Ulixes's* "üble Dienste bei Iphigeniens Opferung (Eurip. Iph. Aul. 524. 1361), wodurch die Verfeindung zwischen Agamemnon und seiner Gattin entstand".

³ I am reminded here of the Greek debate on the question, Is the absolute truth to be demanded of the poet? See W. R. Hardie, *Lectures on Classical Subjects*, 267-268, 283. *Plautus's* words are interesting, too, when put beside what is said—e. g. by *Cicero* and *Gellius*—of the liberties accorded to rhetoricians: compare *Gellius*, N. A. i. 6. 4-5.

quotation of the whole (it is reinforced by later allusions in the play: see 979 ff.); to discuss in detail every point raised by it would be at once too lengthy and needless. Some indication of the richness of this passage for our purposes may, however, be afforded even by a bare catalogue of the names which appear within it: Achilles, 938; Agamemnon, 946; Alexander (=Paris), 947; Atridae, 925; Epheus, 937; Hecuba, 963; Helena, 948, 963; Ilium, 945, 948, 951, 956, 972 (987); Menelaus, 946; the Palladium, 954, 958; Pergamum, 926, 933 (1053, 1054); Priamus, 926, 933, 973, 976, 978; Sinon, *relictus . . . in busto Achilli*, 937; Sinon's fire-signal, 939; Troia, 933 (1053, 1058); Troilus, 954, 960; Ulixes, 940, 949-952, 962-965; the 1000 ships, 928; the wooden horse, 936, 941; the tria fata of Troy, 953 ff., 959 (987); the breaking through of the *portae Phrygiae limen superum*, 955 (987).

V. REFERENCES TO PHILOSOPHERS.

Socrates, Solon, Thales.—In Ps. 464-465 Simo senex, speaking to Callipho senex, says of Pseudolus servos: *Conficiet iam te hic verbis ut tu censeas non Pseudolum, sed Socratem tecum loqui*. See Morris ad loc. The tone here is not so plainly sarcastic as is that of the references to Thales (see below). In As. 598-600 Libanus servos says sarcastically of his younger master Argyrippus: *Audin hunc opera ut largus est nocturna? nunc enim esse negotiosum interdus videlicet Solonem, leges ut conscribat quibus se populus teneat*. Witness the following dialogue, from Ba. 120-124, between Pistoclerus adulescens and Lydus paedagogus:

LY. An deus est ullus Suavisaviatio?

PL. An non putasti esse umquam? O Lyde, es barbarus¹:
quem ego sapere nimio censui plus quam Thalem,
is stultior es barbaro poticio . . .

In Cap. 274-276 Tyndarus servos, commenting on the interview between Hegio and Philocrates, exclaims: *Eugepae! Thalem talento non emam Milesium, nam ad sapientiam huius <hominis> nimius nugator fuit*. In Ru. 1003 two slaves, Trachalio, and Gripus, talk thus: TR. *Stultus es*. GR. *Salve*,

¹ For the *lusus verborum* here cf. Cu. 150.

Thales. In 986 Gripus had already derisively addressed Trachalio with the word *Philosophe*.¹

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¹ For a similar reference to Thales in Greek comedy see e. g. Aristophanes, Aves 1009 *ἄνθρωπος θαλῆς* (said of Meton). See the editors there, especially Van Leeuwen. The tone in all the references in Plautus to Socrates, Solon, and Thales, it will be noted, is sarcastic. We may compare other passages in which there is allusion to philosophy, though no philosopher is named. In Cap. 284 Tyndarus, overhearing Philocrates's remark about Orcus (see above, page 237), says: *Salva res est: philosophatur quoque iam, non mendax modo est*. To Tyndarus, *philosophia* was the quintessence of lying. Cf. also Mer. 147-148 (*Acanthio servos*): *Nescio ego istaec: philosophari* ('refine', 'split hairs') *numquam didici neque scio*; Ps. 687 (*Pseudolus servos*, who had been philosophizing since 675) *Sed iam satis est philosophatum: nimi' diu et longum loquor*; Ps. 974 (*Pseudolus*, commenting on his master's remark, in foro vix decumus quisque est qui ipsus sese noverit) *Salvos sum, iam philosophatur*.

It would be easy, especially in view of passages in Cicero's works (e. g. *De Fin.* 1. 1) which show Roman opposition to philosophy, and in view of the still more significant fact that Cicero repeatedly makes elaborate apologies for devoting himself to philosophy (see Reid, *Academia*, 23, note), to suppose that in the passages cited in this note Plautus was reflecting Roman rather than Grecian views of philosophy. But let us recall how in *Anabasis* 2. 1. 13, in answer to Theopompus's labored effort to show why the Greeks should not surrender their arms to the King, Phalinus *ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν*, 'Ἀλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ μὲν οἶκας, ὃ νεανίσκῳ, καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα. ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ὢν, εἰ οἶσι τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι ἂν τῆς βασιλέως δυνάμεως.

II. THE USE AND RANGE OF THE FUTURE PARTICIPLE.

The Future Participle in Latin abounds in interest alike to the student of Morphology, of Syntax, and of Style. Tho there may be some doubt regarding the circumstances attending its birth and that of its associates,¹ there can be little doubt regarding the multiplicity and variety of its stylistic activities when once it attained its maturity. In the complexity of its

¹For the divergent views regarding the origin of the fut. part. and of the fut. infin. cf. Stolz, *Formenlehre* (1910), pp. 299 and 297. It is to be noted that Sommer, who in the 1st ed. of his *Handbuch*, p. 649, had held the view that 'the fut. part. was probably in the highest degree derived from the fut. infin.', in the 3d ed. (1914), p. 612, says: "eine sichere Erklärung der Bildung auf *-urus* fehlt", and on p. 595 refers to Postgate's view of the origin of the fut. infin. as "nicht frei von Bedenken". It should also be noted that Postgate, *Class. Rev.* XVIII (1904), p. 455, says: "on the whole I am inclined to believe that the fut. part. and the fut. infin. are of independent origin". Cf. also Kühner-Holzweissig, I (1912), pp. 696 and 706, and Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, pp. 537 and 540, and Sjögren, *Zum Gebr. des Futurums* (1906), p. 197. The last-named scholar says: "die sog. coniugatio periphrastica auf *-urus sum*, deren Herkunft noch unaufgeklärt ist." However, for the purposes of this investigation it has seemed advisable to proceed from the assumption that the various steps in the development of the fut. part. were somewhat as follows, using *facturus* as an illustration: to the indeclinable fut. infin. *facturum* was added, after the analogy of *factum esse*, an *esse*: from the indeclinable form *facturum esse* was developed, after the analogy of *factum*, *-am*, *-um esse*, a declinable *facturum*, *-am*, *-um esse*. This was not only an easy step from the preceding but an important one, inasmuch as from the first part, an accusative, could easily be formed a nominative, *facturus*, *-a*, *-um*, from the *esse* could easily arise an *est*, and from the combination of the two, *facturus*, *-a*, *um est*, i. e. the First Periphrastic combination, being assisted in its birth by such forms as *factus*, *-a*, *um est*. This new combination was soon widely used and given various meanings, and when, through the not uncommon ellipsis of *est* in other combinations, the independent form *facturus*, *-a*, *-um* came into existence, which had a parallel in the independent form *factus*, *-a*, *-um*, it assumed not only the various shades of meaning found in the first periphrastic and in the other participles, but took on others also.

nature, in the range of its use, in the versatility of the rôles it assumes, it stands unrivaled among the other parts of speech. "In its life it plays many parts," as many and as varied, one may almost say, as are the feelings and emotions. This is its striking characteristic. The addition of the personal touch to the narrative, the appeal to the interest and sympathy of the reader, the introduction of the dramatic element, the feeling of suspense, of uncertainty regarding the final accomplishment of the purpose announced, all combine to make the Future Participle one of the most effective means of adding life and interest to the style.

For centuries, however, the stylistic possibilities of the future participle lay dormant.¹ With the appearance of Ovid came the great awakening. As a master of technique, with the vision of the artist, he saw its latent possibilities, and straightway there were given to the Latin world many new and varied nuances of expression. His gifted contemporary, Livy, was also alive to its possibilities, and in the hands of these two artists² the future participle was brought to its highest development.

The varied uses of the future participle followed two different lines of development, depending upon the character of the creative impulse. The one may be designated as subjective, the other objective; in the one the action is voluntary, within the control of the actor, in the other involuntary, beyond his control; or to still vary the phrase, in the one, the force is acting from within, in the other, acting from without. On the subjective side, we may express in English³ its force by saying

¹ According to Bennett, *Synt. of Early Latin*, I, p. 435, but two occurrences of this usage are found in this period, one in Plaut. (a Grecism), the other in C. Gracchus.

² Kühner,³ II, 1. p. 760, disregards Ovid's usage and says "seit Livius". Of Livy it may be said that he used it from choice, for its stylistic effect, while in the case of Ovid it should be noted that the fut. part. often furnished him with a convenient rhythmical form. Notice the frequent use of it in the fifth and sixth feet. Cf. *futurus* p. 283.

³ Whether the fut. part. was as carefully analyzed and differentiated in the Roman mind as the above analysis would indicate cannot in the very nature of the case be said with certainty. It is believed, however, that these different forces were actually felt and that the various shades of meaning in their Latin equivalents were present in his mind.

that the person was first represented as 'being about to' perform an action, and from this was developed, 'going to, on the point of, soon to, with the intention of,' becoming, with a slight shift, 'likely to, ready to, prepared to, able to'; then assuming a stronger force, 'determined to', 'resolved to', and finally denoting, 'with the purpose of', expressing the purpose of the action. From the objective side the reverse ideas were developed, the action now being represented as, 'with a tendency to, destined to, doomed to,' and finally having the equivalence of a subordinate clause, 'that is to, that should' etc., or even of a principal clause. The germs of some of these uses of the fut. part. were already present in its use with *est*, but not, it is to be noted, in its use with *esse*. In other words the "first periphrastic", and not the infinitive, had an influence in the development of the various uses and shades of meaning of the future participle as such.

I. THE FUTURE PARTICIPLE WITH ESSE.

Here the facts of usage speak in no uncertain tones. The frequent and widespread "omission" of *esse* shows that it was not considered a vital and essential part of the future infinitive. The combined usage of Plautus and Terence¹ shows the form without *esse* in about 80% of the total number of occurrences. In classical prose the same percentage prevails (without *esse* 1070, with *esse* 265), and in the prose of the Silver Age the omission is even greater, 92% (without 2035, with 172). It is to be further noted that the form with *esse* was never used by the poets, with but two exceptions, Ovid (Pont. 4. 6. 26, a pentameter) and Martial (8. 81. 9, a Phalaecean). It is also significant that the following prose writers do not use the form with *esse* at all: Sallust² (Cat., Jug. (53); but Ep. Mith. 10: *urum esse*); Hirtius (7); Nepos (73); Varro, L. L. (2); Vitruvius (4); Bell. Afr. (14); Vell. (22); Mela (1); Frontinus (32); and Tacitus (110). The fact that the form with *esse* is read but once, contrary to the general usage, in the latest texts, renders its occurrence suspicious, if not doubtful, in

¹ For these two writers both Sjögren, p. 96, and Postgate adopt Leopold's statistics: without *esse* 174 times, with *esse* 44 times.

² The number of times each uses the form without *esse* is put in parenthesis.

Sen., Contr. 7. 6. 15 (79); Val. Max. 6. 5. 2 (47; Halm reads *sese*); Petron. 110 (18); Pliny, Nat. 9. 71 (30); Quint. 4. 2. 128 (40) [in Quint., Dec.: without *esse* 36, with *esse* 4 (*futurum*)] and Suet., Vesp. 5. 6 (*esset v. l.*) (77). In only two writers is the form with *esse* used oftener than that without *esse*, Bell. Hisp. (with: 13. 3; 19. 4; 5; 29. 6; without 19. 6; 22. 5) and Celsus (with 39. 35; 42. 9; 31; 52. 11 all *futurum*; without 35. 21; 85. 8). Cicero in his archaic *De Legibus* does not use *esse* at all; but, in general, in each of his other literary works the forms without *esse* amount to about 71%. Caesar's attitude toward these two forms is shown by the fact that he uses the form without *esse* in 93.1% of the total (164-12).¹ Livy's preference for the form without *esse* was similarly marked,² 90% (1101-107), and Pliny's, Ep. 90.1% (55-5); but these two writers are not so decided in their preference as Sen. phil., 96.5% (139-5), Apul. 96.4% (53-2) and Justin. 98.1% (104-2).³ The preference of Curt. 77.5% (103-30) and Gell. 77.3% (17-5) is not so marked.⁴

The use of the future infinitive belongs particularly to certain forms of literature, certain kinds of narrative resorting but little to indirect quotation. It is not used at all (excluding *fore* and *futurum*) by such poets as Lucr., Pers., and Juv.; but rarely by such as Sen. trag. (once in 430 pp.), Statius 4 (176.8 pp.);⁵ but more often by Lucan 4 (81. 5), Hor. 5 (52. 4), Catull. 2 (36. 5), Mart. 11 (31. 2), Verg. 15 (23. 7); and most often by Plaut. 144 (8. 6), Ter. 74 (4. 5), and Ovid 48 (19. 9). In prose it was used most rarely by such technical and impersonal writers as Celsus 2 (181), Vitruv. 3 (87),

¹ Rice Holmes, *Caes.*, B. G. (1914), omits the *esse* in 5. 29. 2 and 7. 75. 5.

² In the *Periochae* the form with *esse* = 0, without = 11.

³ In Sen. *esse* is used: Dial. 2. 3. 2; 11. 11. 1; Ben. 1. 10. 3; Ep. 59. 14; 117. 28; in Apul.: Phil. 62. 27; 93. 12; in Just. 6. 3. 7; 21. 1. 2; in Gell. 2. 24. 2; 6. 18. 3; 12. 11. 2; 13. 24; 13. 5. 4.

⁴ It may be noted here that the list of citations for the use of the protasis in the Abl. Abs. given by Kühner², II, 1, p. 776, is far from complete; cf. e. g. Cic., Att. 1. 16. 5; 13. 27. 1; 31. 3; 15. 20. 4; Ovid, Met. 3. 287; Livy, 24. 18. 2, etc.

⁵ The numbers in parenthesis indicate the rate of one occurrence per so many Teubner pages.

Varro, L. L. 2 (85. 5), and Pliny, Nat. 31 (61); most often by the historians, Nepos 73 (1. 5), Livy 1208 (1. 6), Caesar 176 (1. 9), Curtius 133 (2. 1), Sallust 53 (2. 3), Just. 106 (2. 3), Suet. 78 (3. 3), Tac. 110 (5. 5), Frontinus 32 (4. 5); but not so often by Florus 4 (26. 3). Cicero uses it most often in his Epist. 437 (2. 6), and Orat. 348 (4. 6); least often in Rhet. 56 (10. 2) and Phil. 138 (8. 2).¹

A. FUTURUM (ESSE) AND FORE.

Fore is in general used more often than *futurum*, its relative frequency being represented in Plaut. and Ter.² by 69%, in Classical Latin by 66%, and in the Silver Age by 63%. From the point of view of preference for one of these expressions the various writers may be classified under six categories. a) Those who use only *fore*: Hirtius (3), Varro, L. L. (2), Florus (1), Catullus (2), Tibullus (4), Val. Fl. (1) and Juvenal (1), all poets except one. b) Those who use only *futurum*: Vitruvius (3), Bell. Hisp. (1) and notably Sen. rhet. (22). c) Those, all poets, who use neither: Lygd. etc., Prop., Phaedrus, Sen. trag., Lucan, Persius, and Martial. d) Those who use *fore* oftener than *futurum*: Plaut. (48-22), Ter. (18-8), Sall. C., J., (26-1), Cic. (304-162), Caes. (39-15), Nepos (15-13), Bell. Afr. (5-2), Livy (277-101, decreasing from 78.2% in the 1st dec. to 61.1% in the 5th), Curt. (26-18), Pliny, Nat. (11-4), Quint. (10-6), Quint., Decl. (9-5), Gell. (5-2), Verg. (8-4), Hor. (6-1), Ovid (14-5), Sil. Ital. (4-1), Stat. (2-1). Of the eighteen writers who use both, the greatest contrast is shown in Tacitus, who uses *fore* 70 times to *futurum* only once. In all *fore* was used over twice (893) as often as *futurum* (372). e) Those who prefer *futurum* to *fore*, all prose and belonging to the Silver Age (exc. Lucr.): Vell. (3-1), Val. Max. (18-4), Celsus (2-1), Sen. phil. (33-4), Frontinus (4-2), Pliny, Ep. (9-6), Suet. (7-6), Just. (19-18), Apul. (14-7), and Lucr.

¹ *Fut. infin.*: Sen., Troad. 637; Stat., Th. 1. 343; 2. 199; 7. 765; 8. 792; Lucan, 5. 307; 8. 574; 9. 554; 555; Hor., C. 4. 9. 1; S. 1. 3. 123; Ep. 2. 1. 17; 226; 266; Catull. 36. 7; 42. 4; Vitruv., Pr. 3; 1. 1. 18; 10. 16. 7; Varro, L. L. 8. 51; 9. 115; Celsus, 35. 21; 85. 8.

² Cf. Sjögren, *l. c.* p. 57.

(4-3). f) Those who show no preference: one writer, Petronius (1-1).¹

B. FUTURUM ² UT AND FORE UT.

These two expressions are in general used for rhetorical effect; i. e., from choice and not from necessity (on account of a missing supine stem).³ In the earlier period ⁴ they were rarely used (Plaut., Ter.: 3); but in classical Latin they are used more freely, 102 times, most often by Cicero (70) and Caesar (14). In the Silver Age they are used only 76 times, notably by Sen. rhet. (10), Livy (10), and Tacitus (10). Their absence from poetry, except in Lucretius (4) and Ovid (2), is noteworthy.⁵ They are used relatively most frequently by Caes. (1 in 24. 3 pp.), Sen. rhet. (1 in 52. 6), and Cic. (1 in 63. 7). The opposite tendency is shown by Livy 10 (1 in 194. 6 pp.), Sen. phil. 1 (1 in 1496) and Pliny, Nat. (1 in 1892). In these three periods *fore ut* ⁶ is used more often (132) than *futurum ut* ⁷ (58), being represented in Plaut. and Ter. by 67%, in the Classical period by 87.3%, but in the Silver Age dropping to 42.1%.

Five categories are represented: a) Those using only *fore ut*: Plaut. (1), Sall. (5), Varro, L. L. (2), Vitruv. (2), Quint.

¹ Rarer occurrences: *futurum*, once: B. Hisp. 19. 4, Sall., Jug. 87. 4; Hor., Ep. 1. 7. 1; Sil. 17. 405; Stat., Th. 2. 199; Tac., Ann. 14. 48; Petron. 108; (Gell. 2. 16. 9; 29, 15); *fore*, once: Vell. 1. 12. 6; Celsus, 85. 9; Petron. 3; Val. Fl. 4. 476; Juv. 13, 200; Florus, 1. 1. 7.

² In this formula, it is to be noted, *futurum* appears without *esse*, except in Cic., De Div. 1. 101 and Caes., B. G. 1. 31, 11 (Kühner,³ II, 1, p. 710, 8, needs revision).

³ To Kühner, *ibid.* p. 711, add: Nepos, 14. 6. 4; Livy, 41. 8. 7; Val. Max. 2. 9. 6; 7. 2 ext. 2; 8. 14 ext. 4; Celsus, 230. 35; Pliny, Nat. 17. 263; Tac., H. 3. 32. 17; Quint., Decl. 58. 24.

⁴ *Fore ut*: Plaut., Ps. 1319; Ter., Hec. 99: *futurum ut*: Ter., And. 508.

⁵ *Fore ut*: Lucr. 3. 486; 871; Ovid, Her. 16. 277; *futurum ut*: Lucr., 3. 871; 4. 805; Ovid, Am. 2. 18. 49.

⁶ *Fore ut*: note especially its use in Sall., J. 8. 1; 61. 4; 100. 1; 111. 1; 112. 3; Varro, L. L. 10. 51 *bis*; Vitruv. 2. 1. 3; 9 pr. 13; Quint. 6. 1. 29; Quint., Decl. 188. 31; Just. 5. 3. 3, and Gell. 5. 10. 9; 5. 1. 3; 9. 3. 5.

⁷ Note that Cicero uses *fut. ut* only twice (Caec. 4; De Div. 1. 101), Livy only 3 times (1. 53. 11; 9. 10. 5; 41. 8. 7), Tac. only once (Hist. 3. 32), Suet. only once (Aug. 97. 2). On the contrary Quint., Decl. uses *fore ut* only once (188. 31).

(1), Just. (1), and Gell. (3). b) Those using only *futurum ut*: Nepos (3), Sen. rhet. (10), Sen. phil. (1), Pliny, Nat. (1), Frontinus (3), and Pliny, Ep. (4). c) Those preferring *fore ut*: Cicero (68-2), Caes. (9-5), Livy (7-3), Tac. (9-1) and Suet. (7-1). d) Those preferring *futurum ut*: only one, Quint., Decl. (14-1). e) Those showing no preference: Ter. (1-1), Celsus (1-1), Ovid (1-1) and Lucr. (2-2).

Note also that *fore qui* is used by Sall., Jug. 43, *fore aliquem qui* by Cic., De Or. 1. 95, *fore ne* begins with Celsus 95. 16 and Val. Max. 6. 4. 3, *futurum ne* with Val. Max. 1. 1. 8.

C. FORE AND FUTURUM WITH PARTICIPLES.¹

a) *Present*: cf. Kühner,² II, 1. p. 159 and note: Cic., Fam. 14. 4. 6 quem spero fore observantem (part. adj.).

b) *Future*: not found until Late Latin and very rare; cf. *ib.* p. 163 and Schmalz, Synt.⁴ p. 463. For its use with *foret* cf. p. 276.

c) *Perfect* with *fore*: Several occurrences are to be added to Kühner, *ib.* p. 165: to the one cited from Plaut. add Cas. 54; and for Ter. (not cited) Hec. 398; to the 4 in Cic. (in Neue 23 cited), Verr. 2. 1. 103; Piso 78 (i. e. in Orat. 11, in Epist. 10); to 1 cited by both for Sall., Jug. 14. 4; 85. 26; to the 2 cited for Livy (5 by Neue), 2. 34. 11; 44. 3; 4. 6. 4; 5. 2. 3; 23. 44. 2; 26. 12. 13; 27. 16. 2; 43. 10. 2 (Livy, 13 in all). This usage is also found in Val. Max. 5. 6 ext. 4; Curt. 4. 7. 28; 29; Apul., Met. 251. 17; Phil. 185. 2 (in Ovid, A. A. 1. 425, Caes. 4. 6. 3 and Hirt. 22. 2. part. adjs. are found).

With *futurum*: cited by both Neue and Kühner¹ in only one passage, Cic., Verr. 1. 24. Note also its use in Plaut., Asin. 454 solutam futuram; Cic., Fam. 7. 16. 3 nummatum futurum.²

d) *Gerundive* with *fore*: forms like *mittendos fore* did not make their appearance until Livy, who uses this construction

¹ Cf. Neue, Formenlehre,⁴ p. 152, Seyffert, B. ph. Woch. 18, p. 1533, and Sjögren, l. c. p. 62.

² In Val. Max. 4. 1 ext. 8 *futuri oppositi* (so Kempf), the text is corrupt. Cf. crit. note. Here, however, *oppositi* is to be regarded as adjectival (=adversi), paralleled by a similar use of *obiecti* in the next clause.

5 times (5. 30. 1; 31. 11. 7; 36. 27. 7; 37. 39. 2; 38. 59. 11).¹ Curtius uses it twice (3. 8. 19; 4. 5. 5) and Celsus once (I pr. = p. 6. 34). Compare its use with *foret* p. 276.

D. FUTURE PARTICIPLE WITH FUISSE.²

The expression *-urum fuisse* first came into use in the Classical period, and was not used at all in poetry. Two writers are conspicuous for the frequency with which they make use of this expression, Cicero who uses it 90 times (most often in the Orat. (41), Phil. (23), Epist. (19), least often in Rhet. (7)) out of the total 99 in the Classical period; and Livy, who uses it over half (63 times) out of a total 109 for the Silver Age. Next to these two writers, *sed longo intervallo*, comes Curtius with 11 occurrences, and Quintilian with 6, Caes., Tac., and Gell. each using it 5 times. For its use with *videor* cf. p. 270.

E. THE FUTURE PARTICIPLE WITH FUISSE UT.

This rare form of expression is found only in Caes., B. C. 3. 101. 2 and Cic., Tusc. 3. 69 (Cic., Lig. 34 has *prius futurum fuisse quam ut*, differing from the others).

F. THE FUTURE PARTICIPLE WITH VIDEOR.

This usage is much more common in prose (195) than in poetry (11), being used by only five poets, Lucil. (1), Cat. (1), Ov. (8), Stat. (1), and Mart. (but in prose).³ It is used more frequently by Cicero than by any other writer (94). It is a significant fact that there are only two writers who insert an

¹ Kühner² II, 1, p. 168, cites 3 passages in Livy and adds "u. ö.", referring to W.-M. 5. 30. 1. But here *foret* is also included, for which Kühner's "u. ö." is appropriate enough.

² Rarer uses: Sall., 1. 82. 3; Caes. 1. 34. 2; 5. 29. 2; 6. 41. 3; 43. 5; B. C. 3. 101. 3; Nepos 9. 1. 3; 2. 3; 17. 6. 1; Sen. rhet. S. 2. 22; C. 10. 5. 27; Vell. 2. 37. 3; Val. Max. 3. 2. ext. 1; 8. 1. absol. 9; 9. 4. 2; Celsus, 9. 8; Sen., Dial. 5. 22. 5; Plin., Nat. 7. 110; 28. 25; Quint. 2. 16. 9; 4. 2. 38; 5. 6. 10; 10. 2. 7; 11. 1. 27; 12. 1. 20; Tac., Ann. 2. 31; 71; 14. 29; 15. 35; Hirt. 1. 50; Plin., Ep. 4. 22. 6; 5. 13. 4; 8. 6. 12; Pan. 7. 1; Suet., Iul. 56. 4; Aug. 31. 3; Otho 10. 1; Just. 29. 3. 2; Gell. 10. 16. 11; 12. 5. 6; 13. 29. 2; 18. 5. 6; 20. 2. 53; Apul., Apol. 66. 10; Curt. 4. 14. 7; 5. 7. 11; 12. 1; 6. 8. 10; 28; 10. 18; 7. 5. 39; 6. 6; 10. 6; 8; 9. 6. 12.

³ Cf. Lucil. 314; Cat. 48. 4; Ovid, Her. 4. 36; 129; A. A. 1. 449; Rem. 416; Met. 4. 343; 526; 606; 8. 348; Stat., Th. 6. 544, and Mart. I pr. (prose).

esse in this expression,¹ Cicero (23) and Quintilian, Decl. (1). With these 24 occurrences contrast the use of the fut. participle without *esse*, 181 times. As Cicero's usage is contrary to that of all the other writers in adding an *esse*, it deserves special attention. The fact that he "omits" an *esse* over three times as often (71) as he inserts it (23), that he frequently uses an adjective in this construction, the *pres.* part. also, as Planc. 55 *retinens videtur*, the *perf.*, as Font. 28 *retenta videatur*, points to some special reason for this exceptional usage. An examination of the passages will show that this exception is to be accounted for by the laws he formulated for the rhythmical clausula of his periods.²

Note also the use of the fut. part. with the infinitival form *videri* in: Caes., B. C. 1. 2. 1. *eum facturum videri*; Ovid, Met. 9. 606 *potui moritura videri*; and in Curt. 5. 13. 11; Sen., Ben. 6. 23. 1; Quint., Decl. 218. 24. It may also be noted that with *videor* Cicero uses both *fore* and *futurum* (in Epist. *fore* about 7 times as often as *futurum*).

With *fuisse*: *-urus fuisse* with *videor* is very rare, being found in only three writers, Cicero using it 3 times (De Or. 2. 230; 3. 180; Lig. 24), Brutus (Ad Brut. 1. 6. 2) and Livy 5 times (26. 23. 2; 44. 4. 4; 34. 4. 14; 38. 50. 1; 39. 40. 4).³

Videor is also occasionally found with the gerundive, as Tac., Hist. 1. 4 *repetundum videtur*; 33 *festinandum videbatur*.

II. THE FUTURE PARTICIPLE WITH EST,⁴ ETC.

This form of expression, the so-called First Periphrastic Conjugation, whatever its ultimate origin, was one of the first

¹ Quint., Dec. 291. 26 *ut videatur esse aliquid—habiturus*. Cf. Frontinus Str. 4. 5. 13 *dicerentur esse facturi*.

² Of the 23, six are of the type *esse videatur* (Fam. 1. 8. 1; Cat. 2. 20; Sest. 10; 106; N. D. 2. 55; 3. 19); 12 are like *esse venturus* in rhythm (De Or. 1. 11; 2. 31; 85; ad Q. Fr. 1. 4. 4; Att. 2. 16. 1; 4. 16. 5; 6. 1. 3; 15. 2. 2; Fam. 16. 12. 4; Fin. 2. 28; 3. 47; Cato M. 71); 3 are like *visurus esse* (double trochee) (Att. 4. 16. 7; 12. 14. 3; Brut. 18). In the two remaining we have a double cretic-trochee combination (Phil. 11. 6) and the heroic clausula (Att. 10. 17. 3).

³ Similar constructions with other verbs may here be noted as Cic., Inv. 2. 74 with *negabitur*; 78 with *arbitrentur*; Att. 17. 14. 2 with *dicebantur* (Cf. Plaut., Truc. 85) and Ovid, Pont. 2. 3. 59 with *putetur*.

⁴ For a careful discussion of the nature and use of such forms cf. Steele, Class. Phil. VII, pp. 457 f.

to find an extended use. Even in early Latin it had already developed five distinct uses, representing an act as intended, on the point of happening, destined to occur, and expressing a resolve, and mere futurity.¹ The table on p. 272 will show at a glance the relative frequency with which each Mood and Tense is used from Plautus to Apuleius, together with the detailed usage of some of the important writers. The Fut. Perf. Indic., being non-existent, is not recorded.

It will be noted that this form of expression is used more often in prose than in poetry, and that, while there is no decided difference between the usage of Classical prose and Silver prose, there is a marked contrast between the usage of Classical poetry and that of Silver poetry. The usage of writers other than those mentioned above is as follows:² Auct. Her. 20 (5. 7); Sall., C., J. 8 (15. 1); Nepos 11 (10. 3); Varro, L. L. 6 (29. 5); Vitruv. 23 (11. 3); Sen. rhet. 106 (4. 9); Vell. 7 (13); Val. Max. 37 (13); Celsus 20 (18. 1); Curt. 41 (6. 7); Mela 1 (79); Petron. 10 (16); Pliny, Nat. 22 (86); Quint. 107 (5. 2); Quint., Decl. 115 (3. 8); Frontinus 10 (14. 3); Suet., Vit. Caes. 5 (50. 8); Florus 3 (35); Just. 19 (13. 8); Gellius 18 (28. 8); in poetry: Lucr. 2 (99); Catull. 1 (73); Tib. 1 (35); Prop. 14 (8. 4); Phaedr. 2 (25); Lucan 8 (40. 7); Val. Flacc. 1 (197); Stat. 1 (707); Mart. 9 (38. 2); Juv. 2 (52. 5); and not at all in Persius (19 pp.) and Sil. It. (425 pp.).

With regard to the use of this periphrastic conjugation it may be said that it possessed one characteristic which commended itself to the popular mind. The fact that it eliminated all difficulties in deciding whether to use *-bo*, *-bis*, *-bit* or *-am*, *-es*, *-et* (for the confusion caused thereby cf. Neue, pp. 322 f.) played no small part in the extended use of it in the colloquial language. It is significant too that Cicero in his Letters used it at the rate of 1 in 3. 5 pages, but in his Rhet., 1 in 9. 3 pp., in his Orat. 1 in 7. 4 and Phil. 1 in 6. 5; that writers like Plaut. and Ter. use it at the rate of 1 in 9 pp., Ovid 1 in 9. 3, but Vergil

¹ Cf. Bennett, Synt. of Early Latin, I pp. 457 f. For Plautus' usage we have the statistics of Postgate (I. F. IV. p. 257) and Sjögren, *l. c.* p. 196 (those of the latter, as an independent investigation showed, being more accurate), and for Terence, Sjögren, *ibid.*

² The rate, one ex. in so many Teubner pages, is given in parenthesis.

	Indicative.						Subjunctive.						Relative Frequency.	
	Pres.	Impf.	Fut.	Perf.	Plupf.	Ind.	Pres.	Impf.	Perf.	Plupf.	Subj.	Total.	No. of pages.	in pages.
Plautus.....	117	1	0	2	0	120	16	1	1	0	18	138	1,243	9.0
Terence.....	27	0	0	1	2	30	5	1	0	0	6	36	336	9.3
Cato agr.....	0	0	11	0	0	11	1	0	0	0	1	12	86	7.2
Early Latin	144	1	11	3	2	161	22	2	1	0	25	186	1,665	8.9
Class. Prose.....	200	62	13	18	1	294	396	155	17	7	575	869	5,700	6.6
Class. Poetry.....	47	47	4	13	5	111	17	2	1	1	21	132	2,017	15.3
Class. Period.....	247	109	17	31	6	405	413	157	18	8	596	1001	7,717	7.7
Silver Prose.....	442	154	22	47	11	676	228	257	85	13	583	1259	11,192	8.9
Silver Poetry.....	10	3	2	3	1	19	4	4	1	0	9	28	2,602	92.9
Silver Period.....	452	157	24	50	12	695	232	261	86	13	592	1287	13,794	10.7
Cicero	171	53	7	18	1	250	375	134	17	5	531	781	4,460	5.7
Caesar	1	2	0	0	0	3	5	4	0	1	10	13	340	26.1
Vergil	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	3	356	118.7
Horace.....	4	2	0	0	0	6	3	1	0	0	4	10	262	26.2
Ovid	34	39	3	13	4	93	5	1	1	1	8	101	953	9.3
Livy	67	66	0	8	4	145	52	127	34	6	219	364	1,946	5.3
Sen. phil.....	162	15	16	7	0	200	65	17	4	1	87	287	1,496	5.2
Tacitus	10	4	4	0	0	14	3	7	6	0	16	30	600	20.0
Pliny ep.....	16	4	2	1	1	24	8	12	1	0	20	44	380	8.6
Suet.....	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	4	5	254	50.8
Apuleius	7	2	0	0	0	9	2	2	0	0	4	13	642	49.3

1 in 118. 7, Lucr. 1 in 99, and that of the 10 examples in Horace, 8 are in the Satires and Epodes (metrical considerations could not, it is maintained, account entirely for the difference in use). Such facts point to a colloquial origin and the conclusion that in the Classical period such forms were not regarded as appropriate for use in the higher forms of literature.

The fact, too, that in such an impersonal and technical work as that of Pliny the Elder it is used at the rate of 1 in 86 pp., but in the more lively narrative of Pliny the Younger it is used at the rate of 1 in 8.6 pp., not to mention other contrasts, shows that the character of the subject-matter must also be taken into consideration.

The table also shows that there was a growth in the use of the subjunctive; e. g., in Plaut. the indicative was used much oftener (120) than the subj. (18), but in Cicero the subj. (531) is used over twice as often as the indic. (250), in Caesar over three times as often. On the contrary, it is to be noted that in poetry from Plautus to Juvenal the indic. is almost invariably used oftener than the subj.; e. g., in Ovid 93-8, Prop. 8-5, Lucan 6-2, Mart. 6-3. Finally, the subj. was used oftener in Classical prose (1 in 9. 9 pp.) than in Silver prose (1 in 19. 2 pp.); with a still stronger contrast between Classical poetry (1 in 96) and Silver poetry (1 in 289. 1).

POSITION OF THE NEGATIVE.

The position of the negative *non* is worthy of note. It may be said that in general such forms as *venturus est* were not considered as a unit. One point of evidence supporting this view is the fact that the two words are frequently separated, as, e. g., in Cic., Flacc. 3, where 16 words intervene, and in Balb. 52 were 7 words separate the two parts. Throughout the literature to Apuleius *non* shows a decided tendency to attach itself to the verb, the most common forms being *non est venturus* and *venturus non est* [similarly with *esse* (exc. Plaut., Cist. 236, M. G. 1411; Gell. 12. 11. 2) and *fuisse* (exc. Cic., Cael. 56)]. The only exceptions noted were Plaut., Bacch. 1004 *non laturus sum*; Capt. 14; but none in the Classical period, and but two in the Silver Age, Sen., Contr. exc. 8. 4 *non ausurus fuit* and Sen., Ben. 5. 21. 3 *non ablaturus ero, sed recepturus*; i. e., the exceptions are all in Plaut. and Silver Latin.

NOTEWORTHY TENSE FORMS.

I. INDICATIVE.

a) *Present*: This form is in general the one in most frequent use, in fact the only one used in the indicative by Varro, L. L., Bell. Afr., Mela, Lucr., Verg., Sen. trag., and Just.

b) *Imperfect and Perfect*: the former is generally used rather than the latter,¹ except in 8 writers, 4 being poets, 4 belonging to the Silver Age: Plaut. (1-2), Ter. (0-1), Petron. (0-1), Quint. (4-4), Celsus (0-1), Florus (0-2), Lucan (1-1), and Mart. (0-2). Note, however, Sen. rhet. (12-5), Val. Max. (10-1), Curt. (10-1), and see the table, p. 272.

The *Perfect* was late in being developed. Before the Classical period it was found only 3 times, twice in Plaut. (Asin. 621, Most. 437), and once in Ter. (Haut. 817), and in the Classical period there are only two writers that use it, Cicero (18: Rhet. 1, Orat. 10, Epist. 4, Phil. 3) and Ovid² (13). In the Silver Age it was used by 13 prose writers and by 2 poets, Lucan and Martial. The Perf. was used most often by Quint., Decl. 14 (1 in 31. 5 pp.), Ovid 13 (1 in 73. 3); Cicero 18 (1 in 247. 8).

¹ Blase, H. G. III, p. 275, says: "Umgekehrt ist bei den beiden Seneca *fui* vielleicht häufiger als *eram*". Note, however, that in both Senecas the form with *eram* is used over twice as often as that in *fui*: Sen. rhet., 12 to 5, Sen. phil. 15 to 7 (to the 2 cited for impf. add: Suas. 2. 3; 6. 22; Contr. pr. 17; 1. 1. 11 bis; 2. 20; 22; exc. 2. 5; exc. 6. 6; Lemma 9. 2. 24; and to the 3 for *fui* add: exc. 8. 4; 10 pr. 6; to 0 cited for *eram* in Sen. phil. add: Dial. 10. 17. 2; Ben. 3. 7. 6 bis; 11. 1; 5. 6. 2 bis; 6. 8. 3; Clem. 1. 9. 11; 15. 3; 18. 2; N. Q. 4 b, 5. 4; Epist. 79. 4; 91. 2; 110. 10; 121. 4; to the 2 cited for *fui* add: Dial. 6. 21. 4; Ben. 4. 35. 2; 6. 14. 4; Ep. 68. 12. For the perfect "im Hauptsatz" in Cic. add: Cat. 4. 17; Lig. 23 bis; 24; Fato 19 and to the 3 "im Nebensatz" add: Att. 14. 14. 2; Q. Fr. 1. 1. 23; Phil. 2. 88; Tusc. 1. 48; Div. 2. 20; Or. 1. 110 (i. e. in Cic. there are 9 in princ., 9 in subord. clauses).

² To the 8 cited by Blase, l. c. for the *perf.* in Ovid add: Am. 2. 14. 10; 18; Her. 2. 110; Trist. 4. 10. 79; Fast. 4. 613; to the 2 cited for Quint. add: 4. 1. 67; 5. 10. 47. To the 4 for the *perf.* cited for Livy add: 2. 1. 4; 38. 47. 4; 40. 10. 2; 14. 11; and to the 1 in Quint. add: 4. 15. 7; 7. 4. 2; 10. 1. 115; and to the 1 for Florus add: 1. 3. 11. The following uses of the *perf.* were not noted: Val. Max. 4. 7. 1; Curt. 7. 1. 39; Petron. 94; Quint., Decl. 37. 1; 54. 11; 119. 31; 132. 2; 146. 19; 297. 8; 302. 18; 310. 8; 341. 19; 367. 25 f. (5 times); Plin., Ep. 7. 27. 14; Celsus, 336. 30; Just. 1. 7. 10; Gell. 2. 22. 25 and Lucan 8. 97; Mart. 5. 34. 5; 10. 41. 5. For the use of the *perf.* etc. in conditional sentences cf. Thielmann, Archiv, II, pp. 188 f.

c) *Future*: to express futurity the form with the fut. part. and *est* seems to have satisfied all ordinary requirements, the double expression of futurity in the fut. part. and *erit*, which filled out the complete formal scheme, being reserved for a more energetic situation (compare the double comparative, etc.). A glance at the Table shows that forms like *facturus est* were used 843 times, while those like *facturus erit* were used only 52 times (11 being in Cato). The latter form was used by three writers before Cato,¹ by Cato (11), Auct. Her. (2), Cic. (7), Vitruv. (4), Celsus (1), Sen. phil. (16), Pliny, Nat. (1), Quint. (2), Pliny, Ep. (2), and in poetry by Prop. (1), Ovid (3), and Mart. (2), most often relatively to the size by Cato (1 in 1. 8 pp.), and Sen. phil. (1 in 93. 5) (by Cic. only 1 in 637 pp.). Two instances are found in Livy (38. 38. 2; 8), but in these Livy is recording the terms of a treaty.

d) *Pluperfect*:² this form, next to the future, is the rarest of all (only 20 times in these 23,176 pp.). It was first used by Ter. (2), then not till Cic. (1), Tib. (1), and Ovid (4), Sen. rhet. (1), Livy (4), Quint., Decl. (2), Frontin. (1), Pliny, Ep. (1), Just. (2), and Mart. (1).

II. SUBJUNCTIVE: This mood is rarely used in principal clauses. Blase l. c. p. 275 says: "Nur ein solcher Konjunktiv im Hauptsatz ist mir bekannt, nämlich Val. Flacc. 7. 534." Three others are to be added: Ovid, Am. 2. 15. 21; Prop. 3. 19. 6, and Quint., Dec. 361. 11.

a) PRESENT AND IMPERFECT: the pres. was the first form to find extended use. In early Latin 22 out of 25 are in this tense, and later this was the only tense used by Lucr. (1), Catull. (1), Verg. (1), Prop. (5), Celsus (4), Val. Fl. (1), and Juv.

¹ Cf. Neue III^a, p. 162. To the 8 passages cited for Cato add: 30; 100; 142. 3; to the 13 in Sen. phil. add: Dial. 7. 24. 1; Ben. 2. 10. 1; Ep. 99. 23 (76. 21 is cited for 76. 27); and to Blase p. 273 add: Auct. Her. 3. 8; to the 3 in Cic. add: De Or. 2. 99; Att. 12. 34. 3; Fato 27; De Leg. 1. 43 (i. e. in Cic., Rhet. = 4; Epist. = 1; Orat. = 0; Phil. = 2); read Prop. 4. 11. 79; and add Vitruv. 4. 6. 3; 5. 6. 6; 12. 5; 6. 8. 7, all being with *futurus*. Add also to Neue: Ovid, A. A. 2. 287; 350; Celsus, 58. 17; Plin., Nat. 18. 193; Quint. 4. 3. 10; Plin., Ep. 4. 13. 8; Mart. 11. 5. 10; 14. 181.

² Cf. Blase III, p. 222, but note that Ovid, Met. 14. 72 is bracketed, Pont. 2. 11. 19 omitted, as also Sen., Contr. 10. 4. 3; Val. Max. 4. 2. 7; Quint., Decl. 146. 14; 301. 24; Frontinus, 4. 1. 33; and Mart. 11. 91. 9.

(1). Next came the *imperf.* and these two tenses are the only ones used by Ter. (5-1), Auct. Her. (6-2), Sall. (3-2), Nepos (1-7), Pliny, Ep. (8-12), Apul. (2-2), Hor. (3-1), Lucan (1-1). Only the *imperf.* is used by Hirt. (2), Vell. (6), Sen. trag. (2), Frontinus (6). Note that in contrast to Cicero's usage of the pres. 375 times to the *imperf.* 134, Livy used the *imperf.* 127 times to the pres. 52, and that in harmony with Livy's usage stands Nepos 7-1, Vell. 6-0, Val. Max. 14-3, Curt. 13-6, Front. 6-0, Tac. 7-3, Pliny, Ep. 12-8; but in harmony with Cicero's usage Hor. 3-1, Prop. 5-0, Ovid 5-1, Sen. phil. 65-17, Quint. 43-7, and Quint., Decl. 18-6.

*Future Participle with foret.*¹ This form of expression was first used in prose by Sall. (1), Nepos (2), in poetry by Prop. (2. 29. 28), and Ovid (Her. 4. 125). Livy, whose style in a number of details shows an affinity to that of Sallust and Nepos (cf. Lease, Livy (1914), Intr. §§ 27 and 28)² is conspicuous for the frequency with which he used this form³ (2-8-3-1). It is also found in Vell. (2. 37. 3; 55. 3; 90. 3), Val. M. (7. 3. 5), Sen. phil. (1), Curt. (8. 13. 18), Front. (Str. 7. 3. 5), Tac. (Ann. 2. 30; Hist. 4. 86); Gell. (12. 11. 2; 14. 1; 20; Tiro 10. 1. 7), Apul. (1). This form of expression did not find favor with the poets, only three using it, Prop., Ovid, and Lucan (7. 464) and that but once each. For the *gerundive* with *foret*, found in Hor., frequently in Livy, cf. Kühner,⁴ II, 1, p. 168. Compare also its use with *fore*, which appears first in Livy (Schmalz, Synt. 4, p. 463).

b) PERFECT:⁴ this form was used as early as Plautus (Pers. 296), but was not used again in poetry, except once, Ovid, Am. 2. 14. 21 (Martial used it, Bk. II, praef., in prose). In the

¹ Cf. Blase, p. 277, and add the passages cited above in parenthesis.

² So also in the use of the perf. part. with *foret*. Add to Neue pp. 153 f. Sall., Cat. 14. 7; 18. 8; 39. 4; Jug. 21. 2; 27. 2; 30. 1; Nepos, 6. 3. 5; 7. 8. 4; 15. 7. 5; 23. 7. 3.

³ Cf. Neue III, p. 174, who omits 28. 22. 10; 44. 26. 9 and Riemann Et.² p. 231 who omits the latter.

⁴ Blase, p. 278, simply cites the one passage in Plaut., those in Cic., and refers to Neue, III, pp. 164 f. Here Neue cites 3 for Livy, instead of 34 (12-10-8-4), 3 for Sen. phil., omitting Ep. 32. 3; Ben. 3. 8. 4 (Ep. 9. 14 is cited for 9. 17, but here Hense reads *foret*), and 1 for Tac. instead of 6 (cf. G. & Gr. Lex.).

Classical Period Cicero was the only prose writer to use it (17), Ovid the only poet (1). In the Silver Age it was used relatively most frequently by Quint., Decl. 23 (1 in 19. 2 pp.), Livy made a wider use of it (1 in 57. 2) than Cicero (1 in 262. 3). It was also used¹ by Sen. rhet. (2), Val. M. (3), Sen. phil. (4), Curt. (3), Petron. (1), Pliny, Nat. (1), Quint. (5), Tac. (6), Suet. (1), Flor. (1), Just. (1).

c) PLUPERFECT:² This form does not appear until the Classical period and was never common, being found but 8 times in 7717 pages in that period, 13 times in the Silver Age in 13,794 pages. It begins with Cicero (5), Caes. (1), after whom it is used by Vitruv. (1), Ovid (1), Sen. rhet. (2), Livy (6), Vell. (1), Sen. phil. (1), Curt. (1), Quint. (1), Q. Decl. (1). It will be observed that this form is found only once in poetry (Ovid) (in part due to metrical considerations).

III. THE FUTURE PARTICIPLE.³

For the sake of brevity and clearness the tabular form of presentation is here adopted. The most important writers in each period and department of literature are here selected for detailed usage. For the present purpose the varied uses of the fut. participle have not been differentiated, but simply classified under the general headings of Adjectival and Substantial. *Futurus* has been treated separately, its purely participial and

¹ Perf. is also used in: Sen., Suas. 2. 7. 10; Contro. 9. 1. 1; Val. Max. 2. 8. 2; 5. 3 ext. 3; 8. 2. 2; Curt. 7. 4. 4; 5. 26; 10. 2. 25; Petron. 101; Pliny, Nat. 17. 155; Quint. 3. 6. 103; 5. 12. 13; 7. 2. 37; 4. 12; 9. 2. 41; Suet., Claud. 38. 3; Florus, 2. 6. 19; Just. 22. 7. 7.

² Blase, p. 228, simply refers to Neue, III² pp. 165 and 187 (the latter treats the forms *-ndus*). For the citations omitted by Neue cf.: Cic., Fam. 13. 10. 3; (Lig. 23 now has: fuistis); Caes., B. G. 1. 40. 13; Vitruv. 10. 22. 9; Ovid, Her. 17. 91; Sen. Contr. 1. 2. 19; exc. 1. 2; Livy, 10. 28. 1; 45. 3; 23. 39. 2; 36. 5. 6; 38. 46. 6; Vell. 2. 125. 1; Sen., Ben. 5. 20. 6; Curt. 6. 8. 10; Quint. 9. 2. 80; and Quint., Decl. 73. 9.

³ Of special value for a study of its varied uses in Cicero are the monographs of F. Hoppe, Gumbinnen, 1875 and 1879; in the Augustan poets, Sommer, Halle, 1881; and for its use to express purpose, R. B. Steele, A. J. P. XIX (1898), pp. 275 ff.; for the literature in general, cf. Nägelsbach Stil.⁹ p. 487.

purely adjectival functions being presented under the category Adjectival.

Principal writers.	Future Participle.					Futurus.			
	Pages.	Adj.	1 in pages.	Subst.	1 in pages.	Adj.	1 in pages.	Subst.	1 in pages.
Sall. C. and J.	121	2	60.5	1	121	1	121	0	0
Cicero	4,460	4	1115	1	4460	68	65.6	72	61.9
Caesar	340	0	0	0	0	1	340	0	0
Nepos	113	0	0	0	0	1	113	0	0
Vitruvius	261	0	0	0	0	3	87	2	130.5
Class. Prose.....	5,700	8	712.5	2	2850	74	77	74	77
Lucr.	198	0	0	0	0	4	49.5	0	0
Vergil.....	356	51	6.9	5	71.2	16	22.3	4	89
Horace.....	262	38	6.9	0	0	3	87.3	4	65.5
Propert.....	118	23	5.1	0	0	3	39.3	0	0
Ovid	957	198	4.8	12	79.4	18	52.9	19	50.2
Class. Poetry.....	2,017	323	6.2	20	100.9	45	44.8	29	69.5
Livy	1,946	129	15.1	2	873	47	41.4	15	129.7
Sen. rhet.....	526	43	12.2	8	65.8	13	40.5	11	52.6
Sen. phil.....	1,496	283	5.3	44	34	34	44	44	34
Curtius	276	103	2.7	3	92	9	30.7	4	69
Pliny nat.....	1,802	51	37.1	8	236.5	12	157.8	9	210.2
Quint.....	564	37	15.2	21	26.9	20	28.2	7	80.6
Plin. ep.....	380	56	6.8	10	38	7	54.3	9	42.2
Tacitus	600	113	5.3	7	85.7	15	40	21	28.6
Apuleius	642	36	17.8	3	214	18	35.7	7	91.7
Silver Prose.....	11,192	1,121	9.9	118	94.8	229	48.9	141	78.8
Sen. trag.....	430	22	19.5	5	86	8	53.8	3	143.3
Lucan.....	326	94	3.5	3	108.7	6	54.3	14	23.3
Val. Flacc.....	197	12	16.4	4	49.2	2	98.5	6	35.7
Martial.....	343	25	13.7	1	343	3	114.3	0	0
Juvenal.....	105	20	5.3	2	52.5	2	52.5	1	105
Silver Poetry.....	2,602	303	8.6	21	130.1	44	59.1	38	70.3

A. ADJECTIVAL.

The stylistic possibilities of the future participle were not developed until the Augustan Age. See p. 263. In the *Classical period* it was used by Sall.¹ (2), Cicero (4), Bell. Afr. (2), and

¹ Cf. Sall., B. J. 35. 10; 106. 3 (also Ep. Mith. 18; Hist. 1. 32; 2. 1; cf. Quint. 9. 3. 12); Cic., Verr. 1. 56; Tusc. 4. 14; N. D. 1. 29; Att. 8. 9. 2 (in Ad. Q. Fr. 2. 5. 2 the text is uncertain). Cic. uses only *laturus*, *venturus*, *eventurus*, and *acturus*.

most freely in poetry Verg. (51), Hor. (38), Tib. (11), Lygd. etc. (2), Prop. (23), and Ovid (198). Owing to the influence of poetry and Livy this usage was greatly extended in the *Silver Age*.¹ Livy² (129), Sen. rhet. (43), Vell. (14), Val. Max. (48), Celsus (5), Sen. phil. (283), Curt. (103), Mela (6), Petron. (10), Plin., Nat. (51), Quint.³ (37), Q. Decl. (24), Frontinus (43), Tac. (113), Pliny, Ep. (56), Suet. (44), Florus (9), Just. (6), Gell. (5), Apul. (36), and in poetry, Phaedr. (3), Sen. trag. (22), Lucan (94), Persius (3), Val. Fl. (12), Sil. It. (25), Stat. (99), Mart. (25), and Juv. (20). This usage is found most frequently in Curtius (1 in 2. 7 pp.), Frontinus (3. 3 p.), Just. (4. 5), Sen. phil. and Tac. (5. 3), all historians, and least frequently in Gell. (103. 8), Celsus (72. 4) and Pliny, Nat. (37. 1), which is not surprising considering the technical and impersonal character of the subject-matter.

a) PARTICLES WITH THE FUTURE PARTICIPLE.⁴ The force of the fut. part. is further clarified and accentuated by the use of particles, as by *tamquam*, beginning with Ovid and Livy, by *quasi*, beginning with Ovid and Sen. rhet., by *ut* beginning with Hor., Prop., and Livy, and by *velut* beginning with Livy.

Tamquam, 55 times in prose, but only twice in poetry:⁵ found most frequently in Sen. phil. (17), the nearest being Livy (8), Frontin. (8), and more rarely Val. Max. (4), Quint.,

¹ F. Helm's monograph, *De part. usu Tac., Vell., Sall.* (1879) has been of service in checking up the citations made by the author for these writers.

² Vielhaber, *Liv. Stud.* (Wien) 1871 is far more accurate and complete than Wenger, *Gebr. d. Part. bei Liv.* (Linz), 1882 and Gütling *De T. Liv. Or. Cap. II.* 1872.

³ Quintilian's remark (9. 3. 12) is interesting in view of his own practice.

⁴ Cf. in general Schmalz, *Synt.*⁴ p. 458 and Kühner⁵, II, 1, pp. 790 f., whose citations, however, are far from complete.

⁵ *Tamquam*: Livy, 21. 61. 1; 30. 10. 10; 34. 36. 5; 36. 41. 1; 43. 10; 37. 23. 6; 40. 4. 10; 44. 9. 10; Vell. 2. 109. 1; Val. Max. 2. 6. 11; 3. 2 ext. 3; 9. 6. 2; 9. 12 ext. 10; Sen. phil., N. Q. 30. 2; Dial. 5. 3. 6; 17. 7; 7. 23. 4; 10. 3. 4; Ben. 4. 16. 2; 5. 20. 6; 7; Ep. 21. 1; 32. 1; 46. 1; 59. 14; 70. 17; 82. 21; 98. 5; 5; 123. 10 (over half in his *Epist.*); Petron. 99; Quint. 6. 1. 39; 9. 2. 82; Quint., Decl. 164. 17; 201. 1; 227. 4; 281. 30; Frontin. 1, [1. 1]; 5. 3; 10; 13; 2. 5. 30; 38; 3. 6. 1; 1; Tac., Ann. 6. 36. 3; 12. 49. 5; 50. 10; 14. 10. 4; 33. 17; Hist. 4. 19. 15; Dial. 2. 16; Pliny, Ep. 2. 20. 11; 6. 33. 2; Gell. 1. 3. 30 *bis*; and Ovid, Met. 10. 269; Juv. 4. 148.

Decl. (4), Quint. (2), Pliny, Ep. (2), Gell. (2), and once each, Vell., Petron., and the two poets Ovid and Juvenal.

Quasi, found 44¹ times (2 in poetry): most frequently in Suet. (16), then Just. (6), and Sen. phil. (5), then Tac. (3), Pliny, Ep. (3), twice each by Sen. rhet., Curt., Front., once each by Val. Max., Florus, Gellius, but in poetry only Ovid, Met. 9. 228; Phaedr. 3. 2. 8 (note that Cicero, Tusc. 5. 81 has *quasi certo futurum* (a subst.)).

Ut, 26 times² (3 in poetry): most often in Livy (7), and Tac. (6), then Just. (4), Pliny, Ep. (3), Sen. rhet. (2), and once each by Val. Max., Sen. phil.; in poetry: Hor., Prop., Lucan.

Velut, 20 times³ (poetry 1): Just. (5), Livy (4), Val. Max. (3), Curt. (2), and once each in Sen. rhet., Sen. phil., Pliny Nat., Quint., Tac.; in poetry, only Lucan, 7. 33.

The following may also be noted: *ceu*: Stat., Th. 9. 67; 11. 362; 561; *dumtaxat* Val. Max. 5. 7. 1; *fortassis* Pliny, Nat. 25. 22 (abl. abs.): *nempe* Sen., N. Q. 6. 32. 10; *nisi* Ovid, Trist. 4. 1. 72; Sen., Dial. 5. 19. 3; Ben. 4. 11. 6; Ep. 29. 1; 97. 6; Pliny, Nat. 11. 54; *perinde ac* Val. M. 8. 11 ext. 2; *prius quam* Livy 7. 31. 2 (cf. 8. 14. 6 with perf.); *proinde* Suet., Iul. 22. 2; *quamlibet* Ovid, Her. 3. 20; *quamvis*⁴ Prop. 1. 15. 13 (in 1. 8. 33 *sc. esset*); *utique* Livy 5. 39. 12; 25. 6. 9; 35. 30. 7.

¹ *Quasi*: Suet., Iul. 81. 4; 82. 1; Tib. 39; 70. 3; 73. 2; Cal. 34. 2; 46; Nero, 40. 3; 47. 3; 57. 1; Galba, 9; 10. 1; Otho, 6. 2; 7. 1; Vit. 15. 4; 17. 1; Just. 16. 4. 20; 22. 2. 10; 26. 1. 7; 7; 27. 3. 1; 29. 2. 8; Sen., N. Q. 3, pr. 4; Dial. 6. 9. 4; 22. 6; Ben. 5. 16. 4; Ep. 22. 14; Tac., Ann. 2. 63; 5. 10; 72; Plin., Ep. 6. 16. 2; Pan. 2. 8; 73. 6; Sen., Cont. 1. 2. 1; 9. 6. 3; Curt. 10. 5. 15; 4. 3. 22 (abl. abs.); Front. 1. 4. 13a; 8. 12; Val. Max. 2. 6. 11; Flor. 3. 20. 9; Gell. 10. 14. 6.

² *Ut*: Livy, 3. 5. 1; 7. 23. 6; 21. 32. 10; 28. 26. 12; 31. 42. 5; 35. 50. 11; 42. 63. 5; Tac., Ann. 1. 47; Hist. 1. 75; 2. 48; 58; 80; 3. 68; Just. 1. 3. 4; 7. 3. 5; 29. 2. 8; Pliny, Ep. 6. 5. 7; 7. 26. 2; Pan. 48. 1; Sen., Suas. 6. 17; Cont. 2. 2. 10; Val. Max. 5. 9. 2; Sen., Dial. 9. 11. 1; Cont. 2. 2. 10; Val. Max. 5. 9. 2; Sen., Dial. 9. 11. 1; and Hor., Sat. 2. 8. 85; Prop. 4. 11. 84; Lucan, 3. 99.

³ *Velut*: Just. 5. 10. 9; 12. 13. 3; 18. 6. 6; 22. 2. 10; 33. 2. 2; Livy, 30. 4. 10; 40. 56. 2; 44. 35. 14; 23; Val. Max. 4. 6, ext. 3; 7. 3. 3; 8. 11, ext. 1; Curt. 7. 4. 5; 9. 7. 19; Sen., cont. 10, pr. 1; Sen., Dial. 12. 10. 9; Plin., Nat. praef. 26; Quint., 8. pr. 18; Tac., Ann. 4. 69.

⁴ Kühner² II, 2, p. 445, says: "*quamvis* c. part. nicht im klass. Spr."

b) FUTURE PARTICIPLE IN ABL. ABS. This construction first appears in literature in Asinius Pollio (Landgraf, Archiv VI, p. 51; cf. XIII, p. 275). It is also found in Prop. 4. 11. 70; Ovid, Her. 18. 111; Met. 8. 409; 6 times in Livy¹ (with *tamquam* 30. 10. 10; 36. 41. 1); Val. Max. 9. 3 ext. 3 (cf. the pres. in 7. 8. 8); Celsus 83. 23; Curt. 4. 3. 22 (quasi); 5. 10. 7; 8. 6. 15; Pliny, Nat. 18. 341; 19. 189; 25. 22; 11. 54 (nisi); Quint. 6 pr. 3; 12. 10. 73; Front. [1. 11. 15]; 3. 17. 8; Mart. 8. 21. 2; 32. 8. To the 5 cited by Draeger (Synt. Tac.) add: Ann. 12. 25. 8; Hist. 2. 16. 4; 4. 39. 15; and note Ann. 15. 52 *daturis qui*.

c) PECULIAR USAGES. As imitations of the Greek idiom are to be regarded: Plaut., Asin. 364 *daturus dixit*; Prop. 2. 9. 7 *visura speraret* (cf. the perf.: Verg., A. 2. 377 *sensit delapsus*); Stat., Th. 1. 347 *ventura minantur*; 7. 792 *scit peritura* (Prisc., G. L. III, 314, 14 says: *pro scit se perituram*), and Apul., Met. 7. 14 *promitterent habituri*.

d) THE FUTURE PARTICIPLE AS AN APODOSIS.² This usage begins with the Augustan poets Hor. (3), Prop. (1), Ovid (6) and with Livy (15). With ellipsis of the verb it is already found in Sall., Ep. Mith. 12; also in Hor., A. P. 476; Ovid, Met. 6. 207; and Sen., Clem. 1. 4. 1. It is found most often relatively in Curt. 12 (1 in 23 pp.), Tac. 12 (1 in 75), Sen. phil. 15 (1 in 128. 3), Livy 15 (in 129. 7), and Ovid 6 (1 in 158. 3). With this usage is to be compared the frequent use of the fut. part. with *esse* and *est* in apodosis.

B. SUBSTANTIVAL.

The use of the future participle as a substantive first appears in the classical period. A beginning was first made with *futuros* (Sall., Or. Lep. 6) from which this process gradually spread to other participles. In the Classical period *futurus*

¹ Cf. Draeger II², p. 790 and note that in 44. 11. 9 the text has been changed and in 45. 35. 6 the dative is more likely. Cf. also Steele, A. J. P. XXIII (1902), pp. 298 f.

² For its use in general cf. Draeger, II², p. 754, and Kühner³ II, 1. 761. Both, however, omit Hor., C. 4. 3. 20; Sat. 1. 6. 130; 10. 89; Prop. 1. 15. 27; Ovid, Met. 5. 270; 9. 562; Trist. 3. 14. 40; Pont. 2. 5. 35; 11. 21; 3. 2. 108. Kühner³ cites only 5 occurrences in Livy; there are 15 (5-5-4-1).

constitutes 74 out of 76 participial substantives and it was not until Sen. phil. that the use of other fut. ptcs. has come up to the use of *futurus* (each 44), but by the time of Quintilian other participles are used almost three times (20) as often as *futurus* (8). In poetry *futurus* is generally in the majority, as in Ovid (19-12), Lucan (14-3), Statius (10-4), but in Horace only *futurus* is used, and in Vergil it is used one time less (4-5).

In the *Classical period* this usage (excluding *futurus*) is very rare in prose, being used but twice (Sall., Jug. 1. 5 *profutura*; Cic., De Div. 1. 29 *eventura*), but in poetry¹ ten times as often (Ovid 12, Verg. 5, Tib. 2, Lygd. 1; in the last three, *eventura*, as also Ovid, Pont. 3. 413).

In the *Silver Age*² this usage was widely extended: the rate in the Classical period is 1 in 350. 8 pp., but in the Silver Age 1 in 99. 2 pp. As indicative of the extent to which this usage was developed may be cited such passages as Quint. 11. 3. 157 (cited by Schmalz, Stil.⁴ p. 611), and Sen., Dial. 1. 5. 7 *accepimus peritura perituri*; Tac. Ann. 6. 22 *quin ventura destinentur*; Agr. 18 *tarda bellum inchoaturo*. The substantival use of the participle is found most often in Quint. 21 (1 in 26. 9 pp.), Sen. phil. 44 (1 in 34), Pliny, Ep. 10 (1 in 38), and not at all in three prose writers, Florus, Iustinus and Gellius, and five poets, Lucr., Catull., Hor., Prop., and Sil.; once by Val. Max. (465 pp.), Celsus (362), Mela (79), Frontinus (143), and Phaedrus (50), Persius (19), Martial (343). Besides the writers mentioned in the Table it is also used by Vell. 2 (1 in 47 pp.), Curt. 3 (1 in 98), Petron. 2 (1 in 80), Quint., Decl. 2 (1 in 220. 5), Suet. 2 (1 in 127), and Stat. 4 (1 in 176. 8), Juv. 2 (1 in 52. 5).

The future participle, as frequently the perfect, bears the main idea, in combination with a substantive having the force of an abstract noun, the subst. having the force of a genitive. This usage appears first in Livy³ in prose, in poetry in Vergil,

¹ Cf. Sommer, l. c.

² Cf. Livy 6. 12. 8; 23. 44. 2 (possibly); Val. Max. 2. 6. 9; Celsus 58. 17; Sen. phil. 44 (N. Q. 3, Dial. 13, Ben. 10, Ep. 18); Pliny, Nat. 18. 26 (cf. Schmalz *ib.*); 19. 87; 20. 45; 125; 136; 193; 25. 56; 37. 169; Petron. 1; 112; Suet., Iul. 23. 2; 52. 1; Apul., Met. 54. 12; 175. 18; 221. 26.

³ Cf. Kühner², II. 1, pp. 762, 769, and Naegelsbach, Stil.³ p. 150, Anm.

as Geo. 2. 498; 3. 262; 4. 156; Aen. 2. 660; 10. 99; Ovid, Her. 13. 90; 19. 107; Pont. 3. 2. 11; A. A. 3. 59; Met. 13. 162.

a) GENITIVE PLURAL. The ambiguous form in *-orum* is very rare, being found only in Sen., Dial. 9. 14. 7 *periturorum*, Ep. 77. 13 *moriturorum*, and Pliny, Nat. 25. 56 *moriturorum* (M.). Cf. *futurorum* pp. 284 f.

b) WITH PREPOSITIONS. This usage is also very rare, and found only in Sen., N. Q. 2. 59. 7 *inter perituros*; Ep. 91. 13 *inter peritura*; Iust. 11. 15. 6 *apud intellecturum*.

C. FUTURUS.

Futurus was neither used as an adjective nor as a substantive by Auctor ad Her., Hirt., Varro, L. L. (exc. as a *term. tech.*), B. Afr. and Hisp., Mela, Petron., Frontinus, and Florus, and by four poets, Catullus, Tib., Phaedr. and Persius. It was used as an adjective, but not as a substantive, by Sall., Nepos, Vell., Val. Max., Lucr., Prop. and Mart.

a) *Adjectival*.¹ The Adjectival use begins with Lucr. (4) and Sall. (1), and when used in hexameter verse is always placed in the 6th ft., except Ovid, Fast. 4. 572, and Val. Flacc. 6. 313. This use is found most often in Classical poetry, and Silver prose, least often in Classical prose.² Cicero uses it most often, naturally, in his philosophical works (52), 9 in Epist., 4 in Rhet., and 3 in Orat. In the Silver Age³ this usage is

¹ The purely adjectival and the purely participial use of *futurus*, the former being by far the more common, are here grouped together.

² Cf. Sall., Iug. 27. 3; Cic., Inv. 2. 160; De Or. 2. 206; P. O. 13; 111; De Domo 12; Phil. 2. 89; 10. 17; Fam. 4. 3. 1; 6. 4. 1; 10. 10. 1; Att. 4. 8a, 2; 5. 13. 3; 7. 13a, 3; 14. 11. 1; Ad Brut. 1. 16. 11; and 52 in Phil.; Caes., B. C. 1. 52. 1; Nepos 2. 1. 4; Vitruv. 1. 2. 2; 6. 2. 5; 9. 6. 3, and in poetry: Lucr. 3. 484; 823; 972; 5. 98; Hor., C. 3. 29. 29; Ep. 2. 69; Sat. 2. 8. 44; Prop. 3. 11. 5; 22. 42; 4. 4. 63, and Lygd. 3. 36. Inasmuch as the statement has been made that *futurus* was used only with *res*, it is to be especially noted that Cicero uses *futurus* as an adj. not only with *res* but with 20 other substantives.

³ Rarer uses: Vel. 2. 57. 1; 75. 3 *bis*; Pliny, Ep. 3. 18. 2; 6. 2. 2; 9. 3. 10; Pan. 26. 1; 59. 2; 73. 6; 81. 2; Quint. 3. 7. 11; 8. 49; 10. 1. 35; 92; 11. 3. 21; 12. 10. 3; Suet., Iul. 19. 2; 81. 1; Aug. 96. 1; Nero 6. 2; Gell. 14. 1. 33; 36 *bis*; 2. 3; 17. 7. 2; 7, and Sen., Tro. 551; 660; Phoen. 280; Med. 286; H. F. 209; 745; Lucan 4. 204; 710; 5. 179; 7. 374; 389; 9. 581; Val. Fl. 6. 313; 7. 125; Stat., Silv. 4. 3. 18; 5. 3. 176; Th. 6. 293; 12. 760; Argument. 3. 9; Mart. 6. 2. 3; 12. 8. 3; 92. 3; and Juv. 3. 72; 8. 75.

found most frequently in Sil. Ital. 19 (22. 4) and Just. 9 (27. 7), least frequently in Mart. 3 (114. 3), Stat. 5 (141. 4), and Pliny, Nat. 12 (157. 8). The usage of writers other than those recorded in the Table is as follows: Val. Max. 14 (33. 2), Celsus 5 (72. 4), Quint., Decl. 12 (36. 8), Suet. 4 (63. 5), Just. 9 (27. 7), and Gell. 7 (74. 5).

b) *Substantival*.¹ This usage begins with Sall. (Or. Lep. 6) and Cicero in prose, with Verg. and Hor. in poetry, and was used with relatively greater frequency in poetry than in prose.² Of the prose writers it is used, relatively to the number of pages, most often by Tac. (28. 6) and Sen. phil. (34); of the poets most frequently by Lygd. (11), Lucan (23. 3) and Val. Flacc. (35. 7). The usage of writers other than those recorded in the Table is as follows: Celsus 2 (181); Quint., Decl. 3 (147), Suet. 1 (254), Just. 5 (49. 6), Gell. 2 (259. 5), and Sil. Ital. 4 (106. 3); Stat. 10 (70. 7).

The use of *futura* as Nom. (= *res futurae*) is very rare: Cic., Fato 26; 33; P. O. 37 *bis*; Livy 25. 12. 8; Sen., N. Q. 13. 6; Dial. 3. 19. 7; Ep. 99. 5; Lucan 5. 223; Quint. 3. 8. 66.

1) *Futurorum*: this ambiguous form (= *rerum futurarum*) was in general avoided. Cicero, however, who uses *rerum futurarum* 24 times, uses it twice (Att. 15. 4a; Cato M. 78); also Ovid (Met. 13. 722). The other occurrences are in Silver.

¹ It is interesting to note that the Latin word from which the common English word "Future" is derived was slow in securing a foothold. Before the Classical Period recourse was generally had to a phrase, *quod restat, in reliquum tempus, in posteritatem*, etc., or to *posthac*. In Cicero *res futuras* (cf. Nepos 2. 1. 4) is common; Lucr. (3. 914), Hor. (C. 3. 29. 29), Ovid (Met. 15. 834), Cic. (P. O. 111) and Caes. (1. 5. 21) use *futurum tempus*; Lucr. (3. 487), Ovid (Her. 4. 131), Lygd. (4. 47) say *aevum futurum*, and Verg. (A. 8. 627) uses *venturum aevum*. Cicero uses the plural *futura* oftener (51) than the sing. *futurum* (10).

² Classical period: only Sall. (Or. Lep. 6), Cicero 72 (Rhet. 6; Orat. 0; Epist. 9; Phil. 57), and Vitruv. 2 (Pr. 3; 9. 6. 2); poetry Verg. 5 (Geo. 4. 239; 392; Aen. 4. 508; 6. 12; 8. 580), Hor. 4 (Sat. 1. 1. 35; 2. 2. 110; A. P. 172; 218); Lygd. 3. 36; Pan. Mess. 33; Ovid 19. Silver Age note: Sen. rhet. Suas. 3. 37; 4. 1 *ter*; 3; 4; 5. 1; Contr. exc. 2. 7; exc. 9. 6. 19; 10. 5. 16; Livy 15 (2-6-4-3); Celsus 32. 18; 81. 13; Sen. phil. 44 (N. Q. 6; Dial. 11; Ep. 22; Ben. 5); Curt. 4. 1. 29; 8. 2. 1; 6. 16; 9. 33; Suet., Nero 56; Gell. 10. 24. 10; 14. 1. 35; Apul., Apol. 50. 11; Phil. 14. 11; 56. 11; 60. 17; 62. 3; 79. 20; 153. 10; and Sen. trag. 3 (H. F. 10. 70; Thyest. 957; Med. 656); Juv. 6. 556.

Latin: Sen., Suas. 3. 7; 4. 1; Sen., Ben. 3. 4. 2; Quint. 5. 10. 33; Quint. Decl. 208. 20; Tac., Ann. 6. 46. 12; Hist. 1. 38; 4. 69. 13; Pliny, Ep. 7. 27. 2; 9. 13. 11; Just. 11. 11. 2; and Apul., Phil. 60. 17; 79. 20. Cf. p. 283.

2) With Prepositions:

a) *In futurum* is the most common (31) and begins with Ovid (1) and Livy (9). It is later used by Sen. rhet. (1), Celsus (1), Sen. phil. (6), Pliny, Nat. (3), Quint. (1), Q. Decl. (2), Tac. (1), Pliny, Ep. (5) and Just. (1). *In futuro* was used only by Cicero (1), *de futuro* by Cic. (2), Sen. phil. (3), Pliny, Nat. (1), and Gell. (1); *pro futuro* (1) and *ex futuro* (2) only by Sen. phil.

b) *Plural*: the most common is *de futuris* Cic. (3), Sen. phil. (1), Quint. (2), Pliny, Ep. (1). *In futuris* (2) and *ex futuris* (1) are used only by Cicero; *in futura* was used only once, by Justinus, and *in futuros*, only once, by Sallust.

It will be observed that *in futurum* is much more common (31) than *in futura* (1); that between *in futuro* (1) and *in futuris* (2) there is little choice; and the same may be said of *de futuro* (7) and *de futuris* (7).¹

This restricted investigation may serve to exhibit in outline what an important rôle the Future Participle plays in the Latin language. A detailed analysis and discussion of its varied uses and of the various syntactic and stylistic problems they present, together with a complete history of their development, would require a separate and more extended treatment.

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¹ *In futurum*: Ovid, Met. 1. 735; Livy 6. 12. 8; 21. 4. 7; 27. 2. 3; 30. 17. 1; 31. 46. 8; 33. 27. 10; 36. 9. 7; 43. 2. 12; 44. 18. 4; Sen., Contr. 10. 5. 16; Celsus 32. 18; Sen., Dial. 4. 2. 14; 9. 9. 2; Ep. 15. 9; 22. 14; 108. 24; 109. 15; Pliny, Nat. 7. 188; 8. 66; 18. 242; Quint. 7. 4. 18; Quint., Decl. 45. 11; 90. 13; Tac., Ann. 4. 37; Pliny, Ep. 6. 5. 2; 8. 2. 7; 14. 1; 10. 101; 115, and Just. 14. 1. 13. *In futuro*: Cic., Fato 17. *De futuro*: Cic., Fato 13; 17; Sen., Dial. 10. 16. 1; Ep. 100. 4; 101. 5; Pliny, Nat. 11. 7; Gell. 10. 24. 10. *Pro futuro*: Sen., Dial. 9. 11. 2. *Ex futuro*: Sen., Ben. 7. 2. 4; Ep. 101. 9. *De futuris*: Cic., P. O. 10; Leg. 3. 29; Phil. 1. 26; Sen. phil., Ep. 88. 33; Quint. 3. 4. 7; 7. 4. 2; Pliny, Ep. 3. 20. 9. *In futuris*: Cic., Fato 13; 17. *Ex futuris*: Cic., Fin. 1. 62. *In futura*: Just. 1. 10. 16. *In post futuros*: Sall. Or. Lep. 6 (note that the subst. still retains its verbal force and allows *post* to modify it; cf. Gell. 14. 1. 6 homines res omnis post futuras praenoscerent).

III. PROBLEMS IN DELPHIAN CHRONOLOGY.

The Aitolians and King Antigonos of Makedon practically divided between them the control of Greece from 275-250 B. C. The former of these gained both power and prestige as a result of their defense of the Delphic shrine against the Gauls. They not only regarded Delphi as their peculiar sphere of influence but, as the Aitolian League grew in strength and numbers, they also began to dominate the proceedings of the Amphiktyonic Council. By the time Antigonos had definitely secured his position on the throne, he found himself a hopeless minority at the Council in the number of votes which he controlled. Liable to be outvoted with consequent loss of prestige, he adopted a policy of non-participation which he imposed on all states dependent on Makedon. In studying the Amphiktyonic records of the second half of the third century, we base our chronological scheme on the theory that this policy became traditional in Makedon and was never departed from.¹ Accordingly, when we find Athens sending a delegate to the Council, we assume that the city was independent. No such restrictions were imposed on those states not directly controlled by Makedon but bound to her on the basis of a free and independent alliance. For example, Boiotia, allied to Makedon from the Demetrian war until the end of the century, sent her delegates to the Council save when at war with Aitolia.

The policy of Antigonos was also adopted by the Achaian League and probably for the same reasons. Both may have resented the policy of the Aitolians in regard to Delphi, as well as their unprecedented method of increasing their vote in the Council as they expanded their League. At any rate it is clear that any state possessing an Amphiktyonic vote ceased to exercise it on entering the Achaian League or on coming under Makedonian control.

Between 250 and 240 B. C. Greece enjoyed a period of comparative peace. We should expect to find a goodly number of

¹ The documents from 280-240 are discussed in *AJP* 1918, 145 ff.

records of the Soteria or of the Council meetings in these years, but we have nothing save a decree in honor of the philosopher Lykon, which probably dates ca. 248. By some curious chance all the other Amphiktyonic lists have disappeared unless we are to transfer to this period some of those which we have dated at the end of the century.

In the following decade war broke out between Aitolia and Demetrios. Since the former suffered severely we should not expect to find many epigraphical records during the war. The ancient historians tell us very little about the struggle beyond the fact that Demetrios won for himself the nickname *Aitolikos*.¹ This implies that the fortunes of war went strongly against the Aitolian forces. Boiotia deserted the League and joined Demetrios early in the war. From an Attic inscription we learn that the war began in the archonship of Lysias and that it was not ended in the archonship of Lysanias.² It may have been brought to an end by the Dardanian invasion of Makedon. At least it is certain that Demetrios was engaged in a desperate struggle with these tribes in the latter part of his reign, was defeated by them, and apparently lost his life in battle or as a result of wounds. Whatever the date of the war, we believe that there can be no reasonable doubt that Aitolia suffered severely, losing part of her League, and that Pomtow and Walek are justified in their arguments for placing Group VI of the Amphiktyonic records in the reign of Demetrios.³

The problem of dating Group VI more precisely is facilitated by several lines of evidence. The succession of certain archons is known. Eukles follows Thessalos and precedes Athambos.⁴ Damaïos is followed by Damosthenes who is, with reasonable

¹ Strabo X 451. Niese gives the details of the war in *Gesch. der gr. und mak. Staaten* II 286 ff.

² SIG I² 485. In line 65 of this inscription it is better to restore *ἐπὶ Δυσάρου* than *ἐπὶ Ἐκφάντου* since elision is followed wherever possible. Ekphantos is dated in 237/6; Lysanias in 236/5 (AJP 1913, 381 ff.).

³ Walek, *Die delphische Amphiktyonie in der Zeit der aitolischen Herrschaft*, 114 ff.; Pomtow, *Klio* 1914, 265 ff.

⁴ *Klio* 1914, 291. Bourguet is inclined to place Eukles about 212 on prosopographical evidence which he publishes in *Rev. Arch.* 1917, 339. This date is much too late and the acceptance of it is impossible because of the violent fluctuation in the membership of the League which is involved in it.

probability, dated in the year of the Pythic games.¹ The membership of the Amphiktyonic Council shows that Boiotia and Aitolia were at peace; that Athens was independent of Makedon in the archonship of Athambos; and that Aigina acted with Athens in asserting her freedom for she had a delegate at the Council in the same archonship.

Walek explains the presence of the Athenian delegate at the Council in the archonship of Athambos as an act of grace on the part of Demetrios. Dating Athambos in 236 he builds up the theory that the war with Aitolia had ended and a hasty peace concluded to enable Demetrios to return home to meet the Dardanians. As a token of the concord established between the two nations, an Athenian delegate was sent to the Council. Pomtow has accepted this theory but it rests on very unsubstantial evidence, or rather, on none at all. The war could not have ended in 236 as the evidence of Attic inscriptions shows.² Moreover we cannot believe that Demetrios ever broke with the traditional policy of Makedon in allowing any of the subject states to participate in the deliberations of the Council. Had he done so, it would be inexplicable that Athens alone should be allowed the privilege. If Demetrios had wished to signify the renewal of amicable relations by sending a delegate to the Council, we should reasonably expect Makedon to have exercised her privilege rather than a subordinate member of the empire. We believe that Walek's theory must be discarded and that the Athenian hieromnemon at the Council in Athambos' year must be explained on the basis of Athenian independence. We have shown elsewhere that Athens shook off the domination of Makedon in 232 and we accordingly date Athambos in that year.³ This we take as the pivotal point for dating Group VI.

Pomtow has given good reasons for dating Thessalos, Eukles, and Athambos in successive years, and they should therefore be dated in 234/2.⁴ Pythokles of Hermione received Delphic honors in the archonship of Thessalos.⁵ In a record of the Soteria he is given as the officiating priest, and it is probable that the honors were conferred in recognition of his services on that occasion.⁶ Accordingly, we should restore the name of

¹ SIG I³ 483.

² SIG I³ 485.

³ AJP 1918, 167 ff.

⁴ Klio 1914, 291 ff.

⁵ Anec. Delph. 66.

⁶ SIG I³ 489.

the archon in this record as Thessalos, for it fills the lacuna in the first line exactly. Six Aitolians, two Delphians, and one Histiaian formed the Amphiktyonic Council which presided over the games. Neither Athens nor Boiotia was represented, and their absence indicates that the Demetrian war was still in progress. Pomtow has suggested that this record should be assigned to the archonship of Damaïos, but the list of Amphiktyons does not correspond with that of his year. An Amphiktyonic list recently published by Pomtow probably belongs to the archonship of Athambos, but it may be dated under Damaïos.¹ The presence of an Athenian and a Histiaian at the same time limits the list to this period and excludes that of the Chremonidean war.

The Aiginetan hieromnemon does not reappear after the archonship of Athambos in 232. Lyandros (this was the name of the delegate) received an honorary decree from Delphi in the archonship of Eukles in the preceding year.² It is probable that he was present at the spring session of the Council as well. If this is so, it implies that the revolution which gave Athens and Aigina their freedom took place early in the spring of 232. Since Aigina shared the Dorian vote in the Peloponnese with four other states in some kind of rotation, her turn did not come again before she joined the Achaian League.³ By so doing she followed the plan of other members of that League in abstaining from participation in the proceedings of the Council.

Damaïos must be dated in a year preceding the celebration of the Pythic games and he is immediately followed by Damos-thenes.⁴ These archons follow Athambos and must be dated in 231/o. Pleiston belongs with Group VI as Walek has shown.⁵

¹ GGA 1913, 174.

² SIG I^a 482, note 8. It may be noted here that in the discussion of Archelas, the archon in 269, it was suggested that the Aiginetan vote in that archonship might be dated ca. 228 (AJP 1918, 162). Further study shows that this is impossible, as there is no place for an archon of this name here. We must either assume that Aigina gained her independence of Makedon in 269 in time to send a delegate to the spring session of the Council or date the decree in honor of the Aiginetan hieromnemon in a much earlier period.

³ The date is undetermined, but is probably not later than 229. Niese, *op. cit.* II 289.

⁴ SIG I^a 483, 488.

⁵ *op. cit.* 115 ff.

It is probable that he is to be dated in 229. After his archonship the Athenian delegate no longer appears in the records of the Council. The reason for the change of policy can only be determined by conjecture. Apparently the Athenians ceased to participate as Amphiktyons as soon as they gained possession of their harbors and fortresses and became completely independent of Makedon. Diogenes surrendered the ports only after a ransom of 150 talents had been paid. Much of this amount was raised from friendly states. Aratos contributed twenty talents, possibly in the hope that Athens would join the Achaian League. Ptolemy probably gave a large contribution in partial recognition of the creation of the tribe Ptolemais. Some came either as a loan or gift from the Thespians and Thebans, a fact which has some significance in regard to the loyalty of these states to their Makedonian allies.¹ Whether these gifts carried any obligations to Athens in regard to Aitolia we cannot say. The guiding statesmen in the new era of freedom were Mikion and Eurykleides, and they must have realized that the only safe policy for Athens was one of strict neutrality. If they joined either of the great leagues they knew that their country would be the main battle-ground in case of war, and they probably saw that trouble was already brewing. Since Aratos did not succeed in winning Athens to the Achaian League Polybios has no sympathy for Athenian foreign policy and he dismisses the Athenians from his history with the contemptuous remark that, when they gained their independence, they resigned it to Eurykleides and concerned themselves no more with the political life of Greece.² We may conclude that the failure of Athens to attend the Council is undoubtedly a part of the policy of neutrality inaugurated by Eurykleides which seems to have been religiously followed for the remainder of his lifetime.

The Boiotian vote at the Council also requires a word of explanation. In the war between Aitolia and Makedon the Boiotians went over to the latter.³ Apparently this move was voluntary, but the presence of a Makedonian army within their borders may have furnished some incentive. If we can believe Polybios, many of the towns seemed to have made the change

¹ IG VII 1737-8, 2405-6; Ferguson, *Hell. Ath.* 207.

² Polybios V 106.

³ Polybios XX 5.

with reluctance. However, Boiotia now appears as an independent ally of Makedon and not as a subject state. During the war no delegates from Boiotia attended the Council, but in 232 we find them present. We may infer that peace had been concluded between 234, the archonship of Thessalos, and 232. It is interesting to observe that Boiotia had none of the scruples which characterized the policy of Makedon in regard to attending the Council. Hereafter the records show the presence of Boiotians at all times except when actual hostilities prevented their attendance.

An interval must elapse between the archonships of Pleiston and Peithagoras because the Amphiktyonic list in the spring term of the former differs from the membership in the autumn session under Peithagoras.¹ Peithagoras probably belongs to a year of the Pythia, although it is not absolutely certain.² If so, he must be dated in 226. We believe that Pomtow is correct in restoring the name of Patrondas in SIG I³ 506, although the first letter of the archon's name is so indistinct that we may restore Euagoras or Peisilas with equal probability. But Patrondas belongs to this period and it is probable that both Euagoras and Peisilas belong in the reign of Demetrios. The constitution of the Council reveals the fact that the Aitolian League had added four votes to their representation since the archonship of Peithagoras. Since the Boiotians were present, the list must antedate the Kleomenic war or 224 B. C. The growth of the Aitolian delegation from seven to eleven shows that the Aitolian League had again entered upon a policy of vigorous expansion. This is probably a result of the compact between Antigonos and Achaia which left Aitolia no longer bound by her former agreements and undertakings with the king.³ It should be noted that the honors paid to the Chian hieromnemon mark the return of the Chians to the Council. The reason for their long absence, or for their return at this particular time, has not been satisfactorily explained. It has been suggested that Aitolia withdrew the privilege after her own great losses in the war with Demetrios and did not restore it until she had regained her former voting power in the Council.

¹ BCH 1902, 250 ff. SIG I³ 494.

² Pomtow, *Jahrbb. Phil.* 1894, 530.

³ Polybios II 45-50.

. Since Patrondas must precede the Kleomenic war, he is to be dated in 225. Herys is later than Peithagoras as the decrees in honor of Antagoras show.¹ The Boiotians were absent from the Council, so Herys probably belongs between 224 and 222.

This arrangement of the group Thessalos-Herys differs widely from the chronological tables published by Beloch, Walek, or Pomtow. Its validity rests on our theory of the political attitude of Makedon and the Achaian League towards Aitolian domination at Delphi, and in no less degree, on the date which we have given to the revolt of Athens from Makedon. In regard to the latter point, it is only fair that we should consider the problem with reference to the other theory which dates Athenian independence in 229 or 228. In that case Athambos-Damosthenes should be dated in 228-6 or four years later than in our list. Peithagoras and Patrondas would fall in the interval of peace which followed the Kleomenic war and Herys in the Social war. Kallias and Nikarchos would have to be dated between 217 and 212. It is in this last period where we face difficulty. The expansion of the Aitolian League to its maximum power would be assigned to a period when all Greece was in comparative peace, and at a time much later than any historian has ventured to place it. It seems to us that our evidence, scanty and poor at the best, is all against such a late date and it cannot be lightly cast aside. Furthermore the grouping of the Soteric records becomes a very difficult and involved problem. Charixenos falls in an interval of peace and Xennias in wartime, and these *agonothetai* succeed each other in the order named.² Similarly another record of two successive Soteria shows that one was celebrated under peace conditions while the second shows that Boiotia and Aitolia were at war.³ It is clear that all these documents cannot be placed at the beginning of the Makedonian war. Charixenos and Xennias must go back to the beginning of the Social war. Finally, some of the archons, who must be displaced from their present position in 217-212, will have to be dated about the middle of the century at a time when friendly relations between Aitolia and Makedon would permit honorary decrees for citizens of the latter. Prosopographic and epigraphical considerations are against any such change. In general, it may be said that the

¹ SIG I¹ 498, 499.

² Klio 1914, 307.

³ BCH 1902, 266, 267.

evidence of the Delphic inscriptions is in favor of the theory dating the independence of Athens in 232.

Our arrangement of the Amphiktyonic lists makes it impossible to date the decree in honor of Lykon ca. 228. Pomtow is undoubtedly correct in assigning this document to the middle of the century or ca. 248.¹

In dating the Amphiktyonic records later than Herys, we are on surer ground. Lists, in which the ethnic adjective is used, are undoubtedly later than those where it is not found. This divides the records into two classes, and is of great service in dating them. Secondly, the presence of Boiotian delegates in any list excludes the possibility of dating it during the Kleomenic, Social, or Makedonic wars. Finally, the growth of the Aitolian League helps to fix the date, or sequence, of some of the records. Unfortunately, the nature of this evidence is very unsatisfactory, and most of us are prone to date our documents first, and then make our deductions about the growth of the League.

In the archonship of Herys the Aitolians had eleven votes, and this number was increased to fourteen under Kallias. In his year the Aitolian League had attained its maximum expansion, although we also find records giving fifteen votes to Aitolia in addition to others which she controlled. Beloch places the period of greatest expansion between 228 and 220.² Walek and Pomtow have been more definite for they date Nikarchos and Kallias in 227-6. According to Beloch, Thessaly was divided between Aitolia and Makedon ca. 228 as a result of the good understanding arrived at early in the reign of Antigonos with Aitolia. If so, the increase in the Aitolian delegation was due to this arrangement. We doubt, however, if such a division was made. When Antigonos had to face a revolt of his troops, he won them over to him by pleading his success in quelling an uprising in Thessaly.³ This plea could not have been made if he had resigned any of that state to Aitolia. Moreover, Thessaly is listed as an ally of Makedon in the Kleomenic war.⁴ Polybios may not mean Thessaly entire, but it is probably the larger part. According to our arrangement of the Amphiktyonic lists Aitolia only controlled eleven votes at

¹ SIG I^a 461; GGA 1913, 168.

² Justin XXVIII 3.

³ Gr. Gesch. III 2. 322 ff.

⁴ Polybios IV 9.

the outbreak of the war. She may have added a part of Thessaly contiguous to her own boundaries, but could have controlled only a small part. It should be noted that Thessalian troops took no part in the battle of Sellasia, and in the conference of allies summoned to Corinth in 220 Thessaly was not present nor was she even invited.¹ We may infer that Thessaly abandoned her alliance with Makedon between 223 and 222, and those parts not directly controlled by Makedonian troops joined the Aitolian League. If this is the case, Aitolia could have commanded fourteen votes about 223 or 222. During the Social war Larisa, Demetrias, Pharsalos, Pherai, and other towns whose names are unknown were controlled by Philip.² Skotussa,³ Lamia,⁴ Thebai Phthiotikai and Meliteia⁵ are mentioned by name as Aitolian. Philip failed in an attack on Meliteia⁶ but was more successful against Phthiotic Thebes which he recaptured and refounded under the name of Philipopolis.⁷ The dispossessed Thebans were given land in Lokris by Aitolia⁸ and it is probable that in going to their new home the colonists believed that they alone had the right to the Amphiktyonic membership, which thus remained under the control of the League. During the war the Thessalian plain was held at times by the troops of Philip, for Dorimachos found his way barred by them once when he attempted a raid on Makedon, and so he ventured no farther than the mountains on the border. On the whole the war seems to have been indecisive and in 217, on the intercession of friendly neutrals, peace was concluded on the basis of the map.⁹ It is probable that very little, if any, change was made in the membership of the Aitolian League.

Between 222 and 217 we place the archons Nikarchos, Kallias, and the agonothete Xennias. Fourteen Aitolians appeared in the Council in the records for these years, implying that the League had attained her maximum extent. This, we believe, is due to the defection of Thessaly before the battle of Sellasia. Since the Boiotians are also present at the Council in both archonships, we must date Nikarchos and Kallias in the interval of

¹ Polybios II 65; IV 15, 25.

² SIG I^a 501.

³ Polybios V 97, 99.

⁴ Polybios V 99, 100.

⁵ Polybios V 100, 103, 105.

⁶ Polybios V 99.

⁷ SIG I^a 536.

⁸ Polybios V 27, 97.

⁹ Livy XXVIII 7.

peace. Pomtow shows that Xennias is later than Kallias,¹ and since the Boiotians are absent when he presided over the Soteria, Xennias must be dated during the Social war, probably in the year immediately following Kallias.

We have set forth elsewhere our reasons for believing that there were two archons named Nikarchos, one of whom must antedate the creation of the tribe Ptolemais at Athens.² The results of our investigations in the later period substantiate this theory, for Nikarchos II cannot be earlier than 223 when it is certain that Ptolemais existed at Athens. It should be noted here that Pomtow has recently dated the archon Archelas in ca. 238.³ The hieromnemons under Nikarchos were Hippon and Antandros. Both names appear as senators under Archelas and it is evident that they are the same men. If Pomtow is correct in dating Archelas so early, Nikarchos II must be identified with Nikarchos I and dated along with him in 240. In other words, it would be necessary to assume that the Aitolian League had attained its maximum growth at the beginning of the reign of Demetrios. Such a theory has some merit, for it is not impossible, and it might be used to explain the origin of the war between Demetrios and Aitolia. On the other hand, it would be necessary to explain the presence of the Boiotian delegates at the Council. After the battle of Chaironeia Boiotia would have surrendered her votes to Aitolia, if we may judge by Aitolian practice elsewhere. But it is uncertain whether she became a member of the League or joined Aitolia on the basis of an independent ally. If the latter, she would have retained her voting privileges. However, with the evidence now at our command, we prefer to date Archelas and Nikarchos much later. The Amphiktyonic decree from the archonship of the latter confers honors on two men whose ethnic is given as Aigieus. If these men are citizens of Aigion, the capital of the Achaian League, the decree must be dated at a time when Aitolia was on friendly terms with the League. Very soon after the end of the Kleomenic war, Aitolia began openly to plot against Achaia, and strained relations would have prevented the Council from honoring Achaians. Accordingly, the honorary decree must have been passed immediately on the conclusion of the war or else some years later, after the Social war. We have already

¹ Klio 1914, 306-7.

² AJP 1918, 165.

³ Klio 1917, 43.

shown that it is difficult to date Nikarchos in the later period, and we therefore prefer to place him immediately at the close of the Kleomenic war.

In the peace which followed the Social war we date two records of the Soteria.¹ In the Amphiktyonic lists the ethnic adjective is not given and the Boiotians are present at the Council. The number of Aitolian delegates shows that the League had expanded slightly, and we believe that these documents should be placed as near the beginning of the Makedonian war as possible. We have accepted the restorations of Nikitsky and Pomtow by which Aitolia is given fifteen delegates at the Council. It is possible that only fourteen were present, for the very fragmentary condition of the documents does not allow exact determination.

In the Amphiktyonic records belonging to the last period, the Aitolians adopted the practice of giving the place of origin of their delegates. Fortunately we can determine when they introduced this plan. An inscription from Delphi gives two lists which undoubtedly belong in successive years.² In the first of these the Boiotians were present at the Council, and absent in the second. We must infer from this that war had broken out in the interval between the two celebrations of the Soteria. There is no doubt that the document falls at the beginning of the Makedonian war, since the Kleomenic and Social wars are excluded from consideration. The alliance between Rome and Aitolia was formed at the end of the campaigning season in 212, or after the performance of the Soteria in that year. Livy tells us that the Roman commander who negotiated the alliance, returned from Aitolia to his winter-quarters, and that Philip heard the news while wintering in Pella.³ Accordingly, we may date the first of these Amphiktyonic records in 212 and the second in 211. Since the ethnic adjective is found in the second and not in the first, we may date the new custom in 211. Aitolia apparently inaugurated the plan as a means of conferring honor on those individuals or states which had rendered conspicuous service to the League. In some cases citizens of states not members of the League were appointed as Aitolian hieromnemons. These were probably pro-Aitolians who were living at the time in exile within the bounds of the League. We do

¹ Cf. p. 298.

² BCH 1902, 266-7.

³ Livy XXVI 24, 25.

not understand the Aitolian practice in reference to Kephallene. Beginning with 212, citizens of this island were sometimes named as members of the Aitolian delegation, and sometimes they are recorded independently. The latter is an unusual departure from custom, for Kephallene apparently remained a part of the League.

The history of the Makedonian war is particularly obscure, especially in its relation to the membership of the Aitolian League. Akarnania, Epeiros, Boiotia, Phokis (probably only in part), and Euboia were the northern states of Greece allied with Philip at the beginning.¹ Thessaly refused to join him at first but is numbered amongst the allies at the end.² In a speech of the Rhodian (?) mission in 207, the orator gives Boiotia, Euboia, Phokis, Lokris, Thessaly, and Epeiros on the side of Makedon.³ We may allow for considerable rhetorical exaggeration in the speech, for it is clear that parts of Phokis, Lokris, and Thessaly were held by Aitolia. It is possible that the same is true of Boiotia, for the speaker goes on to say that, when the war with Hannibal is over, Rome will direct its whole power against Greece: *professedly, indeed, in aid of the Boiotians against Philip*. This is a very strange statement, for we cannot understand why Boiotia should be made the pretext when Rome was already allied with Aitolia in a war against Philip. It may be that the text of the passage is corrupt. If not, we must assume that part of Boiotia, which was not, at all times, enthusiastic about the Makedonian alliance, had appealed to Rome for help. In the final treaty of peace between Philip and Rome Livy gives the allies of the former as Prusias, Achaia, Boiotia, Thessaly, Akarnania, and Epeiros: of the latter as Ilium, Attalos, Pleuratos, Nabis, Elis, Messenia, and Athens.⁴ The inclusion of Ilium and Athens in the latter is probably incorrect.⁵ Lokris and Phokis are not mentioned on either side. The treaty of the previous year may have divided them up between Makedon and Aitolia, and they, therefore, could have no voice in the second treaty. In summing up the war, Niese concludes that both sides won and lost about the same, and that accounts balanced pretty evenly.⁶

¹ Polybios X 41.

² Polybios XI 5.

³ Niese, *op. cit.* II 502, note 4.

⁴ Livy XXVI 25; XXIX 12.

⁵ Livy XXIX 12.

⁶ *op. cit.* II 502 ff.

From the Amphiktyonic records it appears that Aitolia lost two (or three, if we include the Kephallenian vote as controlled by the League) votes at the Council in the first year of the war. This is due to Philip's successful campaigns against the Dolopians and in their vicinity.¹ Thereafter the League controlled 13 (14 in 208) votes. Walek believes that Aitolia exercised the vote of every state which had ever belonged to the League even though it had ceased to be a member. The variations in the numbers of the Aitolian delegation during the war discredit the theory, although we are willing to admit that Aitolia was probably very liberal in interpreting the geographical boundaries of a voting state. In Phokis, in Lokris, and in the north the Aitolian holdings were probably slight at times but they gave a technical right to exercise the votes held by those states.

The following arrangement of the Amphiktyonic lists between 214 and 202 is suggested:

213 Agonotheteadas (BCH 1902, 265; Klio 1914, 306, 307).

15 (?) Aitolians, (1 Chian), (2 Delphians), 2 Boiotians.

212 (BCH 1902, 266; Klio 1914, 307).

15 (?) Aitolians, (1 Chian), 1 Kephallenian, 2 Boiotians, (2 Delphians).

211 Agonothete Letos (BCH 1902, 267, 268; Klio 1914, 306, 307; SIG 1³ 523).

13 Aitolians, 2 Delphians, 1 Chian.

209 Archon Babylos (SGDI 2528).

12 Aitolians, 1 Chian, 2 Delphians, 1 Athamanian.

208 Archon Damokrates, General Lattamos (Fouilles de Delphes III 2.86; Klio 1914, 309; BCH 1902, 270).

F. 11 Aitolians, 1 Athenian, 1 Ambrakiote, 1 Kephallenian, 1 Chian.

S. 12 Aitolians, 2 Delphians, 1 Athenian, 1 Chian, 1 Tanagran.

206 (Fouilles de Delphes III 1.351) General Agelaos (?)

12 Aitolians, 1 Chian, 2 Delphians, (1 Athenian).

¹ Niese, *op. cit.* II 484.

205 Archon Megartas, General Alexandros (Fouilles de Delphes III 2.134).

12 Aitolians, 2 Delphians, 1 Chian, 1 Magnesian,
1 Athenian.

203 Archon Polykleitos (SGDI 2527)

12 Aitolians, 2 Delphians, 1 Chian, 2 Boiotians,
1 Athenian.

202 Archon Philaitolos (SGDI 2529)

11 Aitolians, 1 Kephallenian, 2 Delphians, 1 Athenian, 2 Boiotians, 1 Magnesian, 1 Chian.

Babylos can be placed with reasonable certainty in 209. In this year the king of the Athamanians rendered conspicuous service to the League in his efforts to secure peace, and was undoubtedly rewarded by a vote in the Council.¹

Ambrakos was taken by a force of Aitolians and Romans in 208. Philip recovered the place shortly afterwards.² The only occasion during the Makedonian war when an Ambrakiot could have held an independent vote must be the fall of 208. The decree dated by the general Lattamos must therefore be assigned to this session of the Amphiktyons. It may be noted that Ambrakia was apparently not enrolled as a member of the League but was given an independent status. This may be due to the influence of Rome, and if so, it is an interesting indication of what was destined to be Rome's policy in Greece.

The Athenian delegate reappears at the Council in 208, and the unusual honors paid to him probably mark that event.³ Why Athens departed from the traditional policy of Eurykleides at this time we cannot tell. It is possible that his death may be dated about this period and Athenian policies had passed into other hands. The influence of Rome may have been brought to bear on Athens to abandon her neutrality and help Aitolia which was hard pressed. There is a record of a treaty between these two states which may belong here, although Pomtow is inclined to place it ca. 220 or 201.⁴ If it is dated in 208, Livy is right after all in naming Athens as an ally of Rome in the

¹ Livy XXVII 30.

² Appian, *Maced. bell.* 3; Niese, *op. cit.* II 493.

³ Fouilles de Delphes III 2. 86.

⁴ *Klio* 1917, 7. If this treaty does not belong in 208, we prefer to date it ca. 201.

treaty of Phoinike. The new policy of Athens was consistently followed in the succeeding years, for an Athenian is present at all meetings of the Council for which we have complete records.

The absence of the Delphians in the fall session of 208 cannot be satisfactorily explained. The decree for the Athenian delegate is dated; first by the Aitolian general; and second, by the Delphic archon. The phrase ἀρχων ἐν Δελφοῖς may mean that this session of the Council was not held at Delphi but elsewhere. It is possible that Delphi was beset by Philip's troops, and her delegates were prevented from attending by the necessities of war.

The archon Dam(okrat)es must be later than 211 because of the method of listing the Aitolian Amphiktyons. We believe that the presence of the Athenian hieromnemon is a sufficient reason for dating the decree from the archonship of Damokrates later than Lattamos or in the spring session of the same year. Against this may be urged the fact that the name of the secretary of the Council is omitted, although the practice of recording it had begun again under Babylos. Furthermore, if both decrees are assigned to different sessions of the Council in 208, the Athenian delegate must have been changed in the course of the year in conformity with Aitolian practice, although this change may be due to other causes. The presence of a Tanagran at the Council in this year is noteworthy. He is not to be regarded as a representative of Boiotia, but rather, of a part of the confederation which had been detached and was temporarily allied with Aitolia.¹ For this reason the Tanagrans are granted a vote of their own. A citizen of Lebadeia is also recorded amongst the Aitolian delegation. This does not necessarily imply that this state had also joined the Aitolians, although that is possible, but we prefer to believe that the Lebadeian was some pro-Aitolian exiled for his political beliefs and now resident within the bounds of the League.

The Amphiktyonic record which we have dated in 206 belongs to a year in which the Pythia were celebrated. The list is very fragmentary, but it is probable that we should restore the name of one Athenian in line 5. There is a lacuna of fully 16 letters after the full restoration of the formula for the

¹ Secession of part of Boiotia to the Aitolian League is indicated by the speech of the Rhodian ambassador. Cf. p. 297.

secretary is made. The contents of the document show that peace had come between Boiotia and Aitolia, although, contrary to their wont, no delegates from the former were present. If we are correct in believing that a part of the Boiotian confederacy had joined Aitolia, they may have absented themselves as a protest against the action of the League. In the archonship of Polykleitos, however, we find the Boiotians in their old position in the Council.

A Magnesian appears at the Council in the archonship of Megartas. The Aitolians conferred this vote in the second generalship of Agelaos.¹ The date is much disputed. This general held office for the first time in 217. Then, he was a strong advocate of peace, and his election was likely due to his efforts in securing it. If he still represents the same party in Aitolia, he probably falls at the end of the Makedonian war. Moreover, it is doubtful if the Magnesians would press for recognition of their festival in honor of Artemis at a time when the Greek mainland was torn by widespread war. Kolbe dates the arrival of Magnesians ambassadors in the Peloponnese ca. 205, and it is probable that the visit to Aitolia took place at the same time.² We date Agelaos in 206 and Megartas in the following year.³

Philaitolos belongs to a year when the Pythia were celebrated, and, as he is later than Megartas, he must be dated in 202. Polykleitos may belong in 204 or 203.

The arrangement of the Amphiktyonic lists which we have adopted for the last half of the third century requires the regrouping of the other archons of this period. For most of these the chronological evidence is slight, although we are better informed on the political affiliations of the Greek states between 240 and 200. In some cases we are compelled to rely upon the vague and indecisive evidence furnished by prosopography.

Kallikles is dated by Pomtow ca. 238. We have also dated Euagoras and Peisilas in the period of the Demetrian war because the decrees from their years show that Aitolia and the Achaian League were on friendly terms. There is no place

¹ *Inscriptionen von Magnesia*, p. XIV.

² *IG V* p. XXV.

³ Alexandros was general in the archonship of Megartas (*Fouilles de Delphes III* 2. 134).

for these archons later, when similar conditions prevailed, unless we are to displace some of the documents which we have assigned to 217-212.

Colin denies the existence of three archons named Eudokos in the third century and Pomtow is inclined to accept his conclusions.¹ Since a large number of decrees for Aitolian allies in the Peloponnese were passed in this archonship, we believe that it is better to date them in the Demetrian war as recognition of services rendered during the struggle. Eudokos III should be dated about 236-5 or at the end of the war. It is probable that Athanion should be assigned to the same period. Baunack would date this archon after Thessalos because of the order in which the inscriptions follow each other on the stone.² This is not decisive proof, for the upper one might have been cut later.

The decrees from the archonship of Eudoros show that Makedon and Achaia were both on friendly terms with Aitolia.³ They must be dated early in the reign of Antigonos, and it is probable that Eudoros is the immediate successor of Pleiston.

Lyson is later than the creation of the tribe Ptolemais at Athens and earlier than the outbreak of the Kleomenic war. The latter is shown by the decree for a citizen of Stymphalos, a state which remained steadily loyal to the Achaian League.⁴ If Peithagoras belongs to a year of the Pythia, Lyson must go in 227.

We believe that we should distinguish two archons named Xenokles. In one semester there is a decree for a Megalopolitan who is also called an Arcadian.⁵ This double designation is never found in the second half of the century after Megalopolis joined the Achaian League. The last example occurs in the archonship of Charixenos in 267. This decree should therefore be dated in a period when Megalopolis was still a member of the Arkadian federation, or about 275. Xenokles II belongs to the latter part of the century for epigraphical and proso-

¹ SIG I^a 418, note 21.

² SGDI II p. 694.

³ Fouilles de Delphes III 2. 83, 84; SGDI 2635.

⁴ Fouilles de Delphes III 2. 76; SGDI 2788.

⁵ Fouilles de Delphes III 1. 36.

pographical reasons. In his year of office a citizen of Pheneos was honored by Delphi. Since this state joined Sparta in the Kleomenic war,¹ and was probably returned to the League of the Achaians at its close, we should date Xenokles II during the struggle. The only place available is 223. Another alternative is to substitute him for one of the archons in 217-212.

There is very little evidence for an exact dating of the archons between 220 and 212. Pomtow says that Archelas precedes Phainis.² The latter probably belongs in 217 or the end of the Social war. Several citizens of different states are honored in one decree, and it is a reasonable inference that they are mercenaries who served in the war.³ Aristion II, Alexarchos, and Battos must be dated in the interval of peace which followed the war.⁴ Kriton and Xenon may be contemporaneous with the archon Chairephon at Athens, when embassies passed between the latter state and Aitolia.⁵ Of Phrikidas nothing definite can be said at present.⁶ Pomtow places him ca. 219.

Bourguet shows that Anaxandridas precedes Nikodamos, although it is not necessary to assume that the two archons are in consecutive years. Nikodamos does not belong to a year of the Pythic games, if a decree from his archonship is correctly restored.⁷ Both of these men probably held office at the beginning of the Makedonian war. Pomtow dates Archelaos during the Social war but we believe that he should more fittingly be placed during the Makedonian war.⁸ The decrees from his archonship in honor of the Aitolian *epimeletai* imply that they were of great service in defending the shrine. During the Social war Delphi was not in danger, but Philip was more daring in the second war and made many successful dashes into Aitolian territory. The honorary decrees for Messenian mercenaries imply that the League was compelled to call upon her Peloponnesian allies for assistance. These decrees were

¹ Ibid. III 1. 39-42; Plutarch, Kleom. 17; Arat. 39.

² The Amphiktyonic decree published by Pomtow in *Klio* 1914, 308, may belong in the archonship of Archelas or Aristion.

³ SGDI 2609.

⁴ BCH 1882, 234: 1899, 554; SGDI 2625-6.

⁵ IG II 619b.

⁶ *Klio* 1917, 40 ff.

⁷ Fouilles de Delphes III 1. 327.

⁸ *Klio* 1917, 41 ff.

passed in the archonship of Alexeas and he is probably to be dated in the year following Damokrates or else at the close of the war. We follow Pomtow in dating Alexeas in 207 and Kalleidas in 206.¹

In the archonship of Kallieros the Attic Tetrapolis received an honorary decree, apparently in connection with the Pythiastai. If so, the decree must be dated when Greece was at peace. Kallieros probably falls between 206 and 201.

The chronological arrangement of the Amphiktyonic records and of the Delphic archons which we have endeavored to establish differs from those formerly proposed in many important details. The validity of our results rests on two political principles: first, that no member of the Makedonian Empire or of the Achaian League ever participated in the proceedings of the Amphiktyonic Council while it was dominated by Aitolia; secondly, when we find any state represented at the Council, that state must be free from Makedonian control at the time. There can be no doubt that Antigonos Gonatas pursued a policy of non-participation in the Council during his long reign, and the results of our investigations persuade us that his successors did the same. In approaching the study of the Amphiktyonic records from the point of view of these principles, the interdependence of Athenian and Delphian documents cannot be overestimated. For example, the date and length of the Chremonidean war can be determined accurately only by a study of both. In like manner the dates of groups II and VI of the Council's records are closely bound up with the problem of Athenian independence. Finally, the dates of certain Delphic archons and of the creation of the tribe Ptolemais at Athens are determined by a study of both, for the problems are interdependent. Even if these studies have served no other purpose, we hope that they may help to emphasize the close relation of the epigraphical records of Delphi and Athens in the most obscure period of their history.

DELPHIAN ARCHONS, SENATORS, AND HIEROMNEMONS.

239 *Peisilas* S. Agelochos, Euphrantos, Chairikon.

238 *Kallikles* S. Kriton, Pleiston, Achaimenes, Hippias, Kleon.
S. Damaios, Eurymedes, Xenodamos, Straton,
Kraton.

¹ GGA 1913, 157.

- 237 *Euagoras* S. Damarchos, Teledamos, Dexippos.
 236 *Athanion* S. Praochos, Xenon, Chares, Menes.
 235 *Eudokos* III S. Alkamenes, Lyson, Aischriondas, Nikias,
 Menandros.
 234 *Thessalos* S. Agathinos, Kriton, Aristokrates, Amyntas,
 Iatadas.
 S. Hagnias, Eukles, Parnassios, Aristarchidas.
 H. Eupolis, Kallikles.
 233 *Eukles* S. Kleomantis, Athambos, Herakleidas, on.
 S. Xenodokos, Thrasymachos, Aristagoras, Menes,
 Agetor.
 232 *Athambos* S. Aristagoras, Damon, Pleiston, Nikias.
 S. Nikodamos, Kleoxenos.
 (H. Chares, Xenon)
 231 *Damaios* S. Hagion, Aristokles, Amynandros, Athanion,
 Dioskouridas.
 S. Nikodamos, Amyntas.
 H. Chares, Xenon, Hagnias, Damarmenos.
 230 *Damosthenes* S. Archon, Praochos, Parnassios.
 S. Thrasymachos, Praxias, Kleon, Lysima-
 chos, Amphistratos.
 H. Hagnias, Damarmenos.
 229 *Pleiston* S. Aristomachos, Eparmostos, Dropidas, Straton,
 Archiadas.
 S. Archidamos, Alkinos, Eudokos, krates.
 H. Iasimachos, Epicharidas, Ar
 228 *Eudoros* S. Diodoros, Pleiston, Echekratidas, Amphion
 (?), ra
 S. Erasippos, Nikarchos, Aristion.
 227 *Lyson* S. Thrasykles, Kleon, Aristomachos, Sotion.
 S. Aristion, Asopodoros, Philondas.
 226 *Peithagoras* H. Lyson, Zakynthios.
 225 *Patrondas* S. Lyson, Nikias, Dion, Gnosilas, Euthydikos.
 S. Erasippos.
 H. Archippos, Herakleidas.
 224 *Herys* S. Archelas, Boulon.
 H. Polyon, Diodoros.
 223 *Xenokles* II S. Anaxandridas, Larisios, Xenodokos.
 222 *Nikarchos* II H. Hippon, Antandros.
 221 *Kallias* H. Nikias, Orestas.

- 220 *Archelas* S. Alexarchos, Hippon, Antandros, Aiakidas, Kallikon.
(H. Mnason, Babylos.)
- 219 *Kriton* S. Kallikrates, Phainis, Archelaos, Diodoros, Chairikon.
S. Pythophanes, Mesatas, Zakynthios.
- 218 *Xenon* S. Kalligenes, Aristoboulos, A
- 217 *Phainis* S. Echekratidas, Eukles, Euthydikos, Kraton, Kleon.
- 216 *Aristion* S. Aristagoras, Rhodios, Eukrates, ondas.
S. Nikaïos, Hagion, Kallikon.
- 215 *Alexarchos* S. Damotimos, Teledamos, Sokrates, Eukles, Euthydikos.
S. Phainis, Archiadas, Hagion.
- 214 *Battos* S. Kleudamos, Orestas, Archon, Zeneas, Apollonios.
- 213 *Phrikidas* S. Lysagoras, Emmenidas, Aristomachos, Pleiston, Babylos.
- 212 *Anaxandridas* S. Hippon, Mnasitheos, Nikias, Polyon, Ateisidas.
- 211 *Nikodamos* S. Ariston, Nikodamos, Pleiston, Xenon, Epicharidas.
S. Amyntas, Kleotimos, Etymondas, Amyntas, os.
H. Philoxenos, Herakleidas.
- 210 *Archelaos* S. Tarantinos, Glaukos, Babylos, Orthaios, Nikodamos.
S. Archiadas, Kalligenes, Euaggelos, A
- 209 Babylos H. goras.
- 208 Damokrates S. Hagion, Aristomachos, Eudoros, Alexarchos.
S. Herakon, Andronikos.
H. Herias, Lysi
- 207 *Alexreas* S. Lysimachos, Archelas, Lysidamos, Euthydikos, Archelas.
- 206 *Kalleidas* S. Boulon, Aristagoras, Ekephylos, Lysimachos, Aristoboulos.
H. Teledamos, Emmenidas.

- 205 Megartas S. Mnasitheos, Protarchos, Athambos, Philinos,
Nikoboulos.
H. Praochos, Patreas.
- 204 *Kallieros* S. Parnassios, Archon, Aristomachos, Kleo-
damos, Eucharidas.
- 203 Polykleitos S.eles.
H. Parnassios, Babylos.
- 202 Philaitolos H. Aristomachos, Kallikrates.

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IV. SATURA REDIVIVA.

According to Livy,¹ the purpose of the first Roman approaches to drama was apotropaic. To drive away pestilence, the Romans naturally had recourse to their great masters in magic, the Etruscans. To gain an idea of the symbolic dances introduced by the imported *histriones*, we have only to recall the paintings of many an Etruscan tomb—for example, the Grotta del Triclinio at Corneto.

Livy then explains that the Roman youth “began to imitate” this Etruscan rite. The imitation cannot have been close; for the Roman ceremony was combined with recitation, whereas the fundamental characteristic of the Etruscan performance had been that *carmina* were entirely lacking.

This recitation was humorous and gestures which served to emphasize the humorous element were added.² Furthermore, the “verses” of the young men do not seem to have been set to music. Livy says carefully “*iocularia fundentes*

¹7, 2. For the sake of clearness, it may perhaps be well to quote in full the passages pertinent to my discussion.

3 . . . cum uis morbi nec humanis consiliis nec ope diuina leuaretur, . . . ludi quoque scaenici . . . inter alia caelestis irae placamina instituti dicuntur.

4. ceterum parua quoque, ut ferme principia omnia, et ea ipsa peregrina res fuit. sine carmine ullo, sine imitandorum carminum actu ludiones, ex Etruria acciti, ad tibicinis modos saltantes haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant.

5. imitari deinde eos iuuentus simul inconditis inter se iocularia fundentes versibus coepere, nec absoni a voce motus erant.

6. accepta itaque res saepiusque usurpando excitata. vernaculis artificibus, quia ister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum;

7. qui non, sicut ante, Fescennino versu similem incompositum temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant, sed inpletas modis saturas descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu motuque congruenti peragebant.

²Livy does not imply, as Ullman thought (C. Ph. IX 2 and 3), that the *iocularia* were intended to burlesque the Etruscan performance. Rather, as *simul* (Par. 5) shows, the *iocularia* and their attendant *motus* were coincident with the dance, but not a part of the imitation.

versibus," and later (Par. 7), in describing a subsequent development, he remarks, "descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu", which certainly implies that the previous "chant" had not been "arranged for the flute-accompaniment".¹

The phrase "nec absoni a uoce motus erant" (Par. 5) is a curious one for Livy to use in describing the gestures of the *iuuentus*. *Nec absoni* is not at all a simple litotes for *congruentes*, but as Ullman² has seen, is intended to contrast with the "haud indecoros motus" of the Etruscans. Livy indeed seems guardedly to be expressing his disapproval of the comic element in the young men's performance; that is, he, or his source, did not comprehend its prophylactic purpose.

Noticeable also is the fact that although Livy shows that he regards the *iocularia* and the *motus* as a separate ceremony which the Romans combined with the dance of the Etruscans, he does not state that this ceremony had ever had a prior existence. Here the account of Valerius Maximus is of the greatest importance, for it fortunately enables us to fill the gaps of Livy's narrative.

According to Valerius,³ "placandi caelestis numinis gratia compositis carminibus vacuas aures prae-buit . . . uerum, ut est mos hominum paruula initia pertinaci studio prosequendi, uenerabilibus erga Deos uerbis iuuentus rudi atque in-composito motu corporum iocabunda gestus adiecit, eaque res ludium ex Etruria arcessendi causam dedit: cuius decora pernicitas . . . nouitate grata Romanorum oculos permulsit."

Here we have what was doubtless the original rite: a solemn

¹ Cf. Weissenborn's comment on 7, 2, 7:—"Von diesen rohen Versuchen, . . . sind die von L. im folgenden beschriebenen Versuche verschieden durch ihren Inhalt, dadurch dass sie mit Gesang verbunden waren . . ."

Interpret *iam* as equivalent to *tandem* (cf. Ter. And. 1, 2, 19; Tac. Ann. 2, 21, and *tam tandem* in Livy 22, 12, 10). This is apparently the interpretation of Hendrickson (A. J. P., XV, 12).

² L. c.

³ 2, 4, 4. Valerius has been strangely neglected by writers on the *satyra*, who usually regard him as a mere paraphraser of Livy. The "Programm" of Orendi (M. Terentius Varro, die Quelle zu Livius VII. 2, Bistritz, 1891) should have corrected this impression, if indeed a glance at the texts in question were not sufficient. This Knapp has seen (A. J. P., XXXIII, 125, footnote).

carmen to avert the anger of the gods as shown in the pestilence. This chant the young men subjected to ridicule.¹

One point in the narrative calls for special comment. *iocabunda* has uniformly, I think, been regarded as feminine and taken with *iuventus*.² But Orendi's paper has created at least a strong presumption in favor of the theory that Livy and Valerius in their descriptions of the rise of the drama on Roman soil are following a common source. Valerius, however, begins logically with the original rite which, he informs us, the young men turned to ridicule; whereas Livy, by omitting these antecedent stages, is forced, as Ullman³ observed with surprise, to start his narrative by recording what the performance of the Etruscans was *not* like ("sine carmine ullo", etc.). With Valerius, the contribution of the *iuventus* preceded the introduction of the Etruscan dancers; Livy, on the other hand, describes the combination of the *iocularia* with the imported performance. But if in this reference, Livy, as Orendi has plausibly argued, is following (though at this point less accurately⁴) the same source which Valerius used in writing his fuller account, then Valerius's *iocabunda* is parallel to Livy's *iocularia* and is therefore neuter.⁵

¹ We may compare the mocking parodies of proud boasts which we find in the triumph-song quoted by Suetonius, Caes. 49.

² To make sense, editors have been forced to odd translations. The editor of the Delphin edition paraphrases,—"iuuentus ludens verbis in Deorum honorem compositis." Michaut (Tréteaux latins, Paris 1912, p. 55) says, "la jeunesse, qui prend plaisir aux danses rustiques et désordonnées." That both these translations are incorrect is apparent from the examples quoted by Draeger (Historische Syntax I, 357), who cites accusatives, genitives and datives following adjectives in *-bundus*, but no ablatives. Orendi (p. 13) paraphrases, "Die Jugend, die selbst bei ernsten Gelegenheiten den Scherz nicht missen kann", which is surely making *iocabunda* do a hard day's work.

³ Op. cit., p. 9. Ullman gives a different explanation for this peculiar order.

⁴ In the account of the *satura*, on the contrary, Livy is of course far less abbreviated and inaccurate than Valerius.

⁵ Two difficulties complicate this interpretation. First, the asyndeton (*iocabunda gestus*). This may be classified under the head of the *asyndeton enumeratiuum* of Draeger (II 193; cf. Livy 10, 4, 2 and 32, 3, 5, etc.). Second, in the Latin accessible to us, adjectives in *-bundus* are, so far as I can discover, not used as neuter substantives, though

Assuming this view to be correct, one may compare with the *iocularia* the parodies of the Catholic liturgy which formed a part of the mediaeval Festival of Fools.¹ One may also instance the burlesque of tragedy which a certain type of satyr-drama presented. This last example is especially suggestive, inasmuch as the *exodia*, which Livy (7, 2, 11) tells us were direct descendants of the *iocularia*, were also often travesties of tragedies.²

But we have still to deal with the usual interpretation of *iocabunda* as feminine. Granting that this is correct, we must acknowledge a divergence between Livy and Valerius and admit the possibility that Valerius's account may be more accurate. In this case we must infer that the young men repeated the solemn words of the *carmen*, adding gestures which to the writer who described the performance made the ceremony ridiculous.

Here we may find analogies in many an "expulsion of evils" among primitive people.³ For example, among the Hos of Togoland the town is cleansed of evils by an elaborate procedure⁴ in the course of which "the women sweep out their houses and hearths and set the sweepings on broken wooden plates. Many put on torn mats or torn clothes. . . . While they do so, they pray, saying, 'All ye sicknesses which are in our body and plague us, we are come this day to cast you out!' When they set out so to do, the priest commands every man to cry out thrice and thereby to smite himself on

neuters in agreement are common enough (e. g. *moribunda* (*membra*), Verg. Aen. 6, 732; *errabunda* (*vestigia*), Ecl. 6, 58; *errabundum* (*agmen*), Curt. 8, 4, 6; *cunctabunda* (*uerba*) Mamert. in Jul. 18, 6). Cooper (Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius, New York, 1895, p. 93) points out that such adjectives are specially characteristic of archaic Latin. Can Valerius from whom Cooper quotes only one other adjective of this formation, be borrowing *iocabunda*, directly or indirectly, from an archaic account? Livy, though he liked adjectives in *-bundus*, was possibly reluctant to employ the neuter substantive of this formation, which was certainly rare in the Latin of his day.

¹ Frazer, Golden Bough, Part VI, The Scapegoat (1913), p. 335.

² Dieterich, Pulcinella, p. 110; Marx in Pauly-Wissowa, Bd. II, p. 1920; but cf. Skutsch in Pauly-Wissowa, Bd. VI, p. 1688.

³ Frazer op. cit., chs. III ff.

⁴ Frazer p. 207. For a Roman parallel, cf. Ovid Fasti, 5, 431 ff., the description of the ritual used at the Lemuria.

the mouth. In a moment they all cry out, smite themselves on the mouth, and run as fast as their legs can carry them in the direction of Mount Adaklu. As they run, they say, 'Out to-day! Out to-day! What kills anybody, out to-day! Ye evil spirits, out to-day!' etc.¹

If then by the *iocularia* Livy refers inaccurately to the verses of the *carmen* illustrated by 'humorous' gestures, we can perhaps understand why he uses (Par. 7) the phrase "*Fescennino versu similem (versum)*" in referring to them. In form the *carmen* would be similar to the *versus Fescennini*, and its intent was obviously identical; but in substance its words would be serious, not ridiculous like the mockery of the ordinary Fescennines.

At any rate, whether the young men travestied the *carmen* by gestures merely or by words also,² their performance was surely not intended to make sacred things ridiculous, but to increase the magic power of the incantation.

Valerius, like Livy, does not approve; and, like Livy, he contrasts the rude pantomime of the *iuventus* with the graceful dance of the Etruscans. He misunderstands as completely

¹ For a charm against pestilence which may give us an idea of the *carmen* used in Rome, cf. Marcellus Empiricus 15, 11 (see Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* (1909), p. 821, and Heim, *Incantamenta magica* in *Fleckeisen's Jahrb. Suppl.* 19 (1893), 465 ff.):

si hodie nata—si ante nata
 si hodie creata—si ante creata
 hanc pestem—hanc pestilentiam
 hunc dolorem—hunc tumorem—hunc ruborem
 has toles—has tosillas
 hanc strumam—hanc strumellam
 hanc religionem
 evoco educo excanto
 de istis membris medullis.

² One may reconcile Valerius and Livy by supposing the procedure to have been somewhat as follows: First, a solemn chant by responsive choruses, one composed of priests, the other of young men who added symbolic gestures. For a parallel I may quote Vergil *Aen.* 8, 287 and Servius *ad loc.* These gestures tended to make the ritual ridiculous, and later on a joking verbal parody of the *carmen* enhanced their effect and ultimately replaced the original solemn formula. Cf. Orendi, *op. cit.* p. 37.

as Psellus misunderstands what he regards as wantonly obscene elements in the Mysteries.¹

Valerius's narrative is in some degree confirmed by Plutarch² who, quoting Cluvius Rufus, affirms that actors performed in Rome before the coming of the Etruscans.

* * * * *

Since the young men were either parodying a serious incantation or repeating it with illustrative gestures, we must, to obtain an idea of its nature, recall the character of the very earliest Italic *carmina*, perhaps a sort of poetic prose such as is found in the inscription from Corfinium,³ the prayer of Cato (de agr. cult. c. 141) and the Carmen devotionis Decii (Livy 8, 9, 6). For as Thulin⁴ has proved, such poetic prose was peculiarly characteristic of recitation the object of which was religious.

The next stage, neglected by Valerius, is described by Livy. Now the recitation was set to music ("descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu"), for these performances were *saturae*, which, as several interpreters have seen,⁵ Livy defines as *impletae modis*.

The meaning of the phrase has perplexed commentators. Webb⁶ suggests 'metrical throughout' or preferably, 'containing a variety of measures.' Ullman⁷ says, "*modis* can refer only to the rhythmical strains of the flute."

May not both be correct? Once granting the probability that the prayer and the parody were not poetry but rhythmical prose, because not composed for dance-music, we can see that the addition of a flute-accompaniment, introduced originally for the Etruscan dance, would lead the chant gradually ("ad saturarum modos *perrepsit*," says Valerius) from poetic prose

¹ Cf. Psellus, *Quaenam sunt Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus*, 3 (Migne), and Miss Harrison's comment (*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 569 f. and notes).

² *Aetia Romana*, 107.

³ Thurneysen in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* XLIII, p. 349.

⁴ *Italische Sakrale Poesie und Prosa*, Berlin, 1906, p. 74; also Norden, *Kunstprosa*, pp. 156 ff.

⁵ Birt, *Zwei politische Satiren des alten Rom*, Marburg, 1888, p. 17, n. 2; Webb, *Origin of Roman Satire*, C. Ph. VII (1912), p. 184.

⁶ p. 183.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

to alliterative poetry.¹ By "impletae modis" Livy implies that to the original recitative-prose of the incantation and parody were added selections in metre, intended to be sung (*modis*="measures"); thus the original was "filled up", "enlarged" (*impletae*) by passages in metre sung to the music of the flute (*modis*).²

Here one may draw a striking parallel from the mediaeval church. The Epistles and the Lessons at Mass were sometimes 'farced' (*cum farsura*), that is a *tropus* was inserted in the Lesson or Epistle. A *tropus* or trope was an interpolated chant either in Latin or in the vernacular. Earlier tropes were "rough, rugged, sometimes merely rhythmical, but sometimes metrical: in the second (epoch), . . . the merely rhythmical prose disappeared, the verse became more polished and characterised by rhyme or assonance."³ Was not the result a *satura*?

One is tempted to continue the parallel, to point out that such 'farced' epistles often like Livy's *iocularia* gave rise to

¹ Cf. Thulin, loc. cit.:—"Die Grenze zw. Poesie u. Prosa dürfen wir nicht zu streng ziehen. Es gibt ein Gebiet in dem die beiden sich sehr nahe berührten, nämlich das der sakralen Literatur. Ihre beiden Erscheinungsformen, der Saturnische Vers u. die gegliederte Prosa, entsprechen wohl den beiden priesterlichen Funktionen, dem Gesang (ev. Tanz) u. der feierlichen Recitation."

² I do not think, with Ullman (p. 10), that *peragebant* implies that the singing in the *satura* was continuous, not responsive. It signifies rather that there was no reversion to the earlier form;—the performance was consistently a medley of prose and verse. Thus, I take the sense of the passage to be, 'but gave a consistent performance of *saturae*, that is compositions enlarged by the addition of metrical passages in which, in contrast to the original *carmen* and the *iocularia*, (*iam*) the chant and its illustrative gestures were arranged for flute-accompaniment'.

My hypothesis may perhaps draw additional support from an interesting passage in Macrobius (Saturn. 3, 14, 9), who tells us that Cato said of a man to whom he applied the epithets '*Spatiator*' and '*Fescennius*': "Praeterea cantat, ubi collibuit, interdum Graecos versus agit, *iocos dicit* (perhaps a comic prose recitation), voces demutat (i. e., the style changes, the metrical element appears?), staticulos dat (accompanied by dancing)".

³ The Winchester Troper, ed. W. H. Frere (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1894), p. xiii; see also E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, I, p. 277 and note 3; II, pp. 7 ff.

irreverence¹ and that from certain tropes in dialogue form sprang the liturgical drama.

I return, however, to the ancient *satura*. To Schanz's objection,² "Es ist unmöglich, dass Gesang und Tanz erst später hinzukamen," the specimens of prayers which Thulin quotes are sufficient answer. Recitative prose and rude poetry lay close together; on both sides of the dividing line were *carmina*; music and especially dancing formed the bridge; but Roman conservatism kept in the *satura* the older form of the prayer,³ side by side with the metrical additions which arose spontaneously after the Etruscan dance was combined with the older ritual.

If such was the nature of the early *satura*,⁴ we can understand why Varro gave the title *satura* to his Menippeans marked by a mixture of prose and verse,⁵ and we may even, as Hirzel remarks in a suggestive note,⁶ trace this characteristic of the work of Menippus back to a similar mixture in early Greek comedy.

That a medley of forms was long considered essential to the *satura* may help to explain the reluctance of Horace to refer to his hexameters as *saturae*. At times, however, Horace deftly contrives to suggest a contrast like that between the commonplaces of prose and the lofty flights of poetry. Compare, for instance, in the Journey the excellent comic effect of lines of almost epic quality inserted in a passage purposely prosaic:⁷ "Hic ego propter aquam, quod erat deterrima, ventri Indico bellum, cenantis haud animo aequo

¹ See on this subject the words of Eudes, archbishop of Rheims in 1250 (*Revue des langues romanes* II (1871), p. 133).

² Röm. Litteraturges. VIII, 1, 1 (3d. ed.), p. 21.

³ And, if Livy is correct, of the parody.

⁴ This interpretation of *impletae modis* I had obtained from consideration of the forms of ancient Italic *carmina*. I subsequently discovered that Van Wageningen in the prolegomena to his edition of Persius (1911), p. vii, had conjectured that *impletae modis* might refer to a combination of metrical passages with prose-recitation. As he gives no evidence to support his conjecture, I have thought that my own treatment might not be unjustifiable.

⁵ I am presupposing that Jerome cites Varro's titles correctly, cf. Webb, C. Ph. VII (1912), p. 180.

⁶ Der Dialog, Leipzig, 1895, I, p. 381.⁴

⁷ Sat. I, 5, 7 ff.

Exspectans comites. *iam nox inducere terris Umbras et caelo diffundere signa parabat*: Tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautae Ingerere."

Such a contrast in form might be employed to tickle the ears of an anxious crowd as the recitative passed, under the influence of flute and dance, to metrical invocation; it could compel a sluggish auditor to heed the exhortations of a ragged Cynic, and it could mark the sublimest heights of the Vita Nuova.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

The Genetic Relationship of the North American Indian Languages. By PAUL RADIN. May 31, 1919 (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, XIV. 489-502).¹

Dr. Radin undertakes in this paper to prove the genetic relationship of all North American Indian languages. He notes by the way of introduction that owing to the recent tendency of certain Americanists to consolidate various stocks which had previously been considered independent, or at least not demonstrably genetically related to any other stocks, the thesis maintained in the above paper will not come as much of a shock. That he accepts the conclusions of these Americanists quite irrespective of whether or not they have proved their cases goes without saying. Incidentally he takes the occasion to belittle the work of Professor Boas and his school who have insisted that accurate analytical grammatical sketches of American Indian languages based on texts are an indispensable preliminary before the question of genetic relationship may be safely broached. It should be clearly borne in mind that neither Professor Boas nor any member of his school (so far as I am aware) has ever maintained that the Powellian classification of American Indian languages north of Mexico was final or that every stock listed as independent has been so *ab initio*. They have simply maintained that it is incumbent upon claimers of genetic relationships to prove their cases, and not to rely on guess work. (See Boas, Handbook of American Indian Languages, Part I 44 sq.; Michelson, Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, IX 222 sq.)

If this article were not by a person who holds a responsible position in a reputable university and if it were not printed in an estimable medium, it might safely be ignored. Such however is not the case. I do not pretend to knowledge of every stock cited, but have an independent knowledge of Siouan, Algonquian, Chinookan, and Yuchean (which last is not cited); and it is on these that my criticisms rest.

The author has seized upon every morphological element in one language that even remotely resembles that of another;

¹ This review is printed with permission of the Acting Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

words of one language which in any way resemble those of another are compared irrespective of whether or not the same or different morphological elements are under observation; words are divided in such a way as to make it appear that they have elements in common even if the division cuts in two morphological units and violates the grammar of the particular language cited; no phonetic laws are given and duly proved as an aid to establishing the genetic relationship of the languages; the writer has such a poor control of Algonquian that he blindly follows the errors of previous workers in Algonquian without once pointing them out: he is satisfied so long as he can abstract anything that will apparently bolster his case. I do not think I shall be contradicted by sober philologists when I say that, with such methods, the genetic relationship of any two languages on the face of the globe could be maintained. In short, in Radin we have the return of a Campbell, Trombetti, Dennison, Gašpićev Gržetić, on whom and their like see the sane remarks of Chamberlain, *American Anthropologist* (N. S.) XIV 51 sq. After such an arraignment it is no more than proper to sustain the charges by actual evidence, which I now proceed to give by a detailed examination of the Algonquian material.

NOUNS (the numbers are those of R's list).

2. Belly; miss-ad, Al. Ojib. Such division is against Ojibwa grammar. 5. Bone; ka-n, Al. Ojib. Wrong division: Fox A'kan", bone. 10. Cold; ka-dj, Al. Ojib. Possibly right division. 13. Eye; osh-kinji (queried), mistake for oshkinjig; translation wrong: o="his"; Baraga nishkinjig "my eye". See 17. 15. Foot; oka-d, Al. Ojib. Translation wrong: it is "his foot"; division o-kad; Baraga nikâd "my leg"; ni="my". 16. Ear; tawa-k, Al. Ojib. No reason to divide the word so; is against current ideas of Algonquian grammar. 17. Hair; oshkin-jig, Al. Ojib. Mistranslation: same word as in 13; observe that the same word is divided in two different ways according as it suits Radin's purpose. 18. Hand; otchi-tji, Al. Ojib. Not an Ojibwa word; taken from Baraga without even noticing that Baraga cites it as a Cree word (see p. 1 of his dictionary); mitchitji is also given by Baraga: divide o-; translation "his hand". 19. Head; -cti-gwan, Al. Ojib.: no suffix -gwan in Ojibwa. 20. Hill; wa-djiw, Al. Ojib.: division violates Ojibwa grammar. 26. Mouth; odo-n, Al. Ojib. Queried by Radin. Translation wrong; "his tongue" correct rendition: division o-don; Fox -tunâ- "mouth, tongue"; Radin seems to have ignored nindôn "my tongue" and odôn "his tongue" (both cited by Baraga) because both would be unfavorable to his attempt to connect odo-n (sic) with Kwakiutl su-ms (!). 29. Nose; odja-ni, Al. Ojib.; mis-

print for odja-nj? See Baraga who gives complete evidence that the division is o-djandj "his nose"! Same observations as above. 31. Rain; gi-miwan, Al. Ojib. Shows lack of knowledge of Algonquian morphology; stem gimī-, Fox kemiyāwī "it rains" [kemi- stem; y glide; -ā- inan. copula; -wi 3d sing. inanimate, independent mode]. 32. Sleep; ni-ba, Al. Ojib. Owing to the treatment of n- of stems in composition, it is not possible to know definitely whether this division is right or not; any way n-iba would probably be the division if it is to be divided at all. But I do not lay any stress on this. 33. Snake gine-big, Al. Ojib. Division wrong. 34. Snow; me, Al. Fox. Taken from Jones without knowing that this stem can not be substantiated. 36. Sun; gi-siss, Al. Ojib. Fox kī'ce's^{WA} would have set Radin right in all probability; division gi- impossible. 38. Tooth; bi-d, Al. Ojib. No such word; wrongly extracted from nibid (my tooth) and kibid (thy tooth) both cited by Baraga; lack of independent knowledge of related Algonquian languages made Radin take ni- as "my" and ki- as "thy"; whereas the division is n-ibid, k-ibid (Fox nī-, kī-, not ne-, ke-)¹; if he had only used a little care he would have noted wibid "his tooth" also cited by Baraga which can only be w-ibid. 41. Water; pō, Al. Fox; ni-bi, Al. Ojib. Radin apparently does not know Fox nep', "water," the equivalent of Ojibwa nibi; of course the two Fox citations can have nothing to do with each other.

VERBS.

1. to be; -ka, Al. Ojib. Probably merely to make denominative verbs; Fox -kā-, -kā-. 18. to speak; te, Al. Fox. Taken from Jones' sketch of Fox; Radin is quite unaware that there is no such stem; the supposed stem te was abstracted from such forms as netenā^{WA}, etc.; but these stand for netinā^{WA}, etc. with vowel-assimilation and belong with ähinātc' (Jones' transcription; 'ä'inā^dtc' in mine). 23. to talk; ka-n, Al. Fox. Misprint for ka-n; taken without criticism from the above mentioned sketch; stem kanaw-; division ka-n violates Fox grammar.

NUMERALS.

1. Three; n-iswi, Al. Ojib. No such prefix in Ojibwa numerals. Before taking such an element from the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, it must be shown that in all cases we are dealing with the same morphological unit, which is demonstrably not true. In any case I submit that it is a far cry from niswi to Choctaw tutchina, etc.

¹ Cree nepit "my tooth", cited by Watkins, points in the same direction.

MORPHOLOGICAL ELEMENTS.

5. Causative; -t-, Al. Fox. With inanimate objects only, and so not a fair comparison. 10. Dubitative; -k-, Al. Fox (sign of potential). No such element in Fox; is -'k- meant? Comparison with Ojibwa gonima is wrong, for a similar termination occurs in Fox. 28. Imperative; ta, Al. Ojib. First person incl. only, and so not a fair comparison. 36. Interrogative; ä-, Al. Fox. Queried. Nothing to do with interrogation. 43. Nominal suffix; -ma, Al. Ojib. Probable error for -man. 51. Passive; -tä- (middle voice), Al. Fox. Used only with inanimate subject or subjects; hence not a legitimate comparison. 59. Plural distributive; -d (in verbs), Al. Ojibw. Error. 60. Plural; -n, Al. Ojib. Used to pluralize inanimate nouns; should be given as -an;¹ it is a piece of daring to compare this with Tsimshian l- when the former is restricted as mentioned and Tsimshian l- is used pre-eminently with verbs.² If Radin abstracts -n from -on in verbs (which are inanimate and of the independent mode) he should know that in final analysis the ending is the same as in inanimate nouns (-on contracted from -wan after consonants). 62. Plural; -ke, Ai. Ojib. Special use if genuine, and so not comparable. 73. Transitive suffix; -t- Al. Fox. Queried. Not a fair comparison as it is used only when the object or objects are inanimate.

Radin's reply will probably be that the word-divisions he postulates must be right as shown by the non-Algonquian languages, which, he claims, are genetically related. This is simply begging the question. I do not wish to imply that Radin has not cited correctly a single Algonquian word; but I do claim to have disproved more than three quarters of his Algonquian comparisons; and this fact does not inspire much confidence in the correctness of the remainder.

On a previous occasion I pointed out how easy it is to find chance coincidences between Algonquian and other languages (Journal of the Washington Academy of Science, IX 230 sq.); but I can not refrain from adding a few examples here:—Fox magi- "big", Latin mag-nus; Fox yā- "go", Skt. yā; Fox -sit* "if he, she be" (auxiliary, Latin sit [Fox -si-, -t-, -"; Latin s-i-t]), Fox -guni- "day", Turkish gun. In all seriousness I maintain that these comparisons are fully as close as those made by Radin. I am, by the way, surprised that he did not claim the genetic relationship of all American Indian languages when he was at it, for Moseteno, a South American

¹ Owing to various phonetic changes, this can not always be easily shown by the evidence of Ojibwa alone.

² Algonquian does not possess the plural "groups" of Tsimshian nor Tsimshian the Algonquian grammatical distinction of animate and inanimate.

Indian language, uses *m* (so widely spread) as the pronoun of the second person singular.

It must not be denied that Radin in one or two instances has corrected his predecessors in their vagaries, e. g., he no longer attempts to connect Yurok *-m* with anything Algonquian, nor Wiyot *-it*.¹

In conclusion I wish to make it clear that I do not deny that some day it may be possible to prove the genetic relationship of North American Indian languages; but I do deny that Radin has proved it: what he has given is an exhibition of linguistic anarchy.

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Lietuviškos ir angliškos kalbų žodynas. Trečias spaudimas.

By A. LALIS. Chicago, 1915. Litovskij Slovari. By A. JUŠKEVIČ. St. Petersburg, 1897 ff.

Despite the long line of Lithuanian dictionaries of various sorts that have been issued within the last two centuries, there is still no single authority to which the seeker after a Lithuanian word can turn with instinctive confidence. One tries first the most likely dictionary; if that fails one goes from source to source until the word is found or the seeker has exhausted the resources of his library or his patience. Every student of Balto-Slavic or Indo-European would, therefore, heartily welcome any real contribution to Lithuanian lexicography.

Both of these dictionaries have genuine, though contributory, value; but at present neither is generally available to the American philologist. The Lalis, published by a Lithuanian newspaper in Chicago, is familiar to most English-speaking Lithuanians, but Trautmann (*Die altpreuussischen Sprachdenkmäler*, Göttingen, 1910) is almost alone in using it for purposes of linguistic research. The Juškevič is frequently referred to by German scholars, but it cannot be very well known in this country; numerous inquiries among the literati, institutional libraries, and native Lithuanians have so far revealed only one copy. And yet the Lalis and the Juškevič are the most important Lithuanian dictionaries published within the past generation.

There is no need for comparison between the two; their aims are quite different. The Lalis, a well-printed, well-bound volume of 1274 double-columned pages (the English-Lithuanian part almost twice as large as the Lithuanian-English), makes

¹ See the warning by Michelson, *Am. Anthropol.*, N. S., XVI 364.

no pretense to be more than a practical dictionary; it is, however, much more than that. Lalis is, I understand, a native of the province of Kovno and he knows many words that are not to be found in the more Prussian Lithuanian dictionary of Kurschat, although he does not, like Kurschat, attempt to distinguish the words which he knows personally from those which he obtained from his various printed sources. There is reason to believe that in selecting his title words he followed rather closely Chodzko's Polish-English and English-Polish dictionary; certainly there is a striking lack of balance and harmony between the two parts of the Lalis, which may be due partially to this cause. As the relative size of the two parts might indicate, many Lithuanian words are found (if perchance they are found at all) only in the English-Lithuanian part; among them such words as *baimytis* 'to fear', *įtempimas* 'strain', *kovotojas* 'champion', *melas* 'lie', *prašalinti* 'depose', *sergas* 'sick'.

As would be expected, and readily forgiven, there are some wooden, traditionally lexicographical definitions. Such translations seem to be inevitable in bilingual dictionary-making; at least one meets them almost everywhere. Thus, *pustelninkiškas* is rendered by "eremitical; hermitical; anchoritic; anchoretical"; *ragožiūis* is translated by "jackalent"; under *špyga* appears "to fig one; to give one a fico"; the only meaning for *riestaragis* is "one with recurved horns." But for the most part the translations are clear and, while concise, sufficiently comprehensive. Very occasionally the genders are wrong; how can *dubravas* and *dubliai* be feminine?

Modern Lithuanian is more important in comparative study than any other modern Indo-European language; in the Lalis, if anywhere, we should find the present-day tongue. And we do, to a large extent. But the reader of recent Lithuanian literature, whether it be in the poetry and fiction of *Jauna Lietuva*, "Young Lithuania", or in a vulgar American sheet of the I. W. W.-Bolshevik type, will frequently be disappointed. He can readily identify *Bekeras* as the Secretary of War, *monkey bisnieriai* as Yankee slang, and *Dėyzus Kraist* as profanity; he would not attempt to find them in a dictionary. Nor is he particularly troubled by the lack of such obvious Americanisms as *linčiovimas* 'lynching', *piknikas* 'picnic', *salionas* 'saloon', *streikas* 'strike'. If the context helped him he might guess at *bliofas* 'bluff' (slang) and *bilius* 'bill' (in Congress). But he certainly has a right to expect respectable recent words like *apšvalga* in the sense of a (newspaper) editorial, *sąjungininkas* 'ally', and *saviapsisprendimas* 'self-determination' (of nations), not to mention words of good historic and linguistic pedigree, such as *antrįtojas* 'on the morrow, next day', *atpūškas* (Kurschat) 'Ablass, Ablassfest', *doma* 'attention', *gražia* 'fineness' (e. g. of spirit), *judėjimas*

'motion, question' (in an assembly), *prigulmybė* 'dependence', *neprigulmybė* 'independence', *rinkinys* 'collection'.

Of the Juškevič only the first volume has as yet appeared. It contains about 800 pages and includes the letter J. If this proportion should hold throughout, the finished Lithuanian-Russian dictionary would contain about 2500 large double-columned pages. The second part of the first volume was published in 1904, and nothing has been printed since. The MS of the remainder is, I believe, in the possession of the Petrograd Academy of Science. But in view of the lapse of time and of the fact that the first volume has been long out of print, and in view of general conditions in Russia, both present and to come, it seems very doubtful if the entire dictionary will ever be published. But even as it stands the Juškevič has real and permanent value, at least until a new dictionary absorbs what it offers. The work is scholarly and painstaking; one regrets, however, that the numerous additions and corrections were not caught up early enough in the printing to transfer them to the body of the work.

Juškevič decides the difficult question of the arrangement of the compound verbs by listing them all separately, instead of under the simple verbs. Consequently there is little control of the simple verb from its compounds, which are frequently illuminating as to the meaning and even the derivation of the primitive. I grant that many compound verbs are independent enough to require individual treatment, but I prefer Kurschat's method of including, so far as practicable, the compound verbs under their primitives. It is doubtful, too, if the present condition of Lithuanian lexicography quite justifies Juškevič's confidence in the accuracy of his forms. Very seldom is the slightest hesitation manifested as to the orthography of a word or the quantity and quality of a vowel; little attention is paid to the sources of doubtful words, to variants, or to dialectic distinctions. Juškevič's chief interest naturally lies on the semantic side, and here lies the main strength of his dictionary. The Russian and Polish definitions are numerous and full. Perhaps more valuable still is the light that is thrown on each word from the Lithuanian itself by means of illustrative phrases and sentences and almost exhaustive lists of synonyms, together with cross-references to related words. This phase of the work reveals not only thorough control of the vocabulary, but also remarkable skill and care in its correlation. Many good words are omitted, but no other dictionary within my ken equals the Juškevič, so far as it goes, in the richness and variety of its Lithuanian material.

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First Supplement to a Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400. Additions and Modifications to September, 1918. By JOHN EDWIN WELLS, M. L., M. A., PH. D., Professor of English in Connecticut College. Yale University Press, 1919.

Professor Wells, by publishing this ninety-page *Supplement*, is still keeping us in his debt. Following the arrangement of the larger work, it corrects such errors and omissions in the other as have come to notice, and records publications which appeared between September, 1915, and September, 1918. Information about German publications later than 1914, and especially later than 1917, is admittedly and necessarily incomplete. The relatively small number and importance of errors and omissions found in the *Manual* make the request for forbearance in its preface now seem quite needless. The omissions were largely of obscure, early and unimportant editions and the like, and the errors often small oversights in punctuation and spelling of names. The *Supplement*, therefore, serves well to increase our trust in the *Manual* and our estimation of it.

Professor Wells indicates that he is to bring out a further supplement in the future, and also (which is good news) a similar book on the fifteenth century literature not treated in the *Manual*. For this he invites suggestions and information. One cannot help wishing that he would see fit here to abandon his earlier custom of dividing his book into two separate parts, in one of which he summarizes facts and opinions without naming (as a rule) the critics and their works, and in the other lists critics and works without summarizing their facts and opinions. This means that the first and far larger part, really a literary history, may become antiquated with the advance of historical knowledge, perhaps in a generation or less. A summarizing bibliography, besides often saving the reader's time, can never become antiquated.

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REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS LXXIV (1917 and 1918).

Pp. 1-57. P. Corssen, Das angebliche Werk des Olynthiers Kallisthenes über Alexander den Grossen. Callisthenes of Olynthus, the nephew of Aristotle was not the writer of the work on Alexander which is commonly attributed to him. The character of the writer of this work is directly at variance with the character of Callisthenes. Furthermore, Callisthenes did not at the very start accompany Alexander on his expedition, but joined him later in Bactria. . Lastly, having been charged with complicity in the conspiracy of Hermolaus, he either was executed at the time or, according to another account, he died in chains from phthiriasis not many months later. The notice of Lydus, *de mens.* IV 107, p. 146 Wuensch—which makes Callisthenes say that he accompanied Alexander to Aegypt—is subjected to a rigorous examination, and the conclusion is reached that there is not a scintilla of real evidence for the presence of Callisthenes in Egypt at the time mentioned. A long discussion is devoted to the passage of Suidas in which the lexicographer quotes a statement about Sardanapalus from the second book of the Persica of Callisthenes. It is shown that in this work Callisthenes was indebted to Hellanicus and that the Persica of Callisthenes must have been a work similar to the Persica of Hellanicus, and could not have formed part of a work on Alexander.

Pp. 58-72. W. Kolbe, Archon *Εὐθιος*. The author uses Herculanean papyrus 339, col. V (cf. Philologus LXXI 1912, 226) to demonstrate that the Athenian archons Euthius and Anaxicrates must be dated 284/3 and 279/8 respectively, and then shows that Diocles must have been archon in 287/6. The old dating, Diocles Diotimus Isaeus Euthius 287/6-284/3, is thus established versus that of Beloch-Tarn (288/7-285/4) and that of Ferguson-Kirchner-Mayer (290/89-287/6).

Pp. 72-91. Karl Hartmann, Ueber das Verhältniss des Cassius Dio zur Parthergeschichte des Flavius Arrianus. Discussion of a large number of passages from Dio in which the author is shown to have been in all probability indebted to the Parthica of Arrian. The study forms a valuable supplement to Roos' *Studia Arrianea* (Teubner 1912).

Pp. 92-118. Leo Weber, ΣΥΚΑ ΕΦ ΕΡΜΗΙ. I: Zwei Archilochosfragmente. [Hes. *σῦκον ἐφ' Ἑρμῆι παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν*

κειμένων ἐπ' ὠφελείαι τῶν βουλομένων.] Ψυχὴν δ' ἐξεσάωσα· τί μοι μέλει ἄσπις ἐκείνη; / ἔρρέτω· κτέ. as deduced from Ar. Pax 1301 and Olympiodorus on Plato, Gorg. 483 A is probably the original form of the second distich of Archilochus, fr. 6. In the first line of the fragment, the reading *περὶ θάμνῳ* is preferable to *παρὰ θάμνῳ*. There follows a long critical and exegetical discussion of fr. 74, *χρημάτων δ' ἄελπτον οὐδὲν ἔστιν, κτέ.*

Pp. 119-130. E. Howald, *Handbücher als Quellen des Diogenes Laërtius*. Portions of Diogenes are examined to determine what groups of authors are represented in three compilations that are known to have been excerpted by Diogenes. It is found that Alexander, Dicaearchus, Duris, Hippobotus, Leander, Neanthes, Theopompus, and Timaeus were used only in compilation A. Another set of authors is represented exclusively in compilation B, and still another in C. Some authors, as Apollodorus, Aristoxenus, Antisthenes and Demetrius of Magnesia, were sources common to two or more compilations.

Pp. 131-183. A. Schneiderhan, *Antikes in der Zimmerschen Chronik*. The antique material in the Zimmern Chronicle is reviewed. The conclusion is reached that Count Froben von Zimmern, a man of moderate knowledge of classical antiquity—a knowledge not extending beyond that which was acquired at school—was the real author of the Chronicle, Hans Müller being nothing more than a secretary. Superior to Count Froben in ability and knowledge was Count Wilhelm Wernher von Zimmern, a man of genuine scholarship who almost creates the impression of having been a trained philologist. To him are to be ascribed the historical portions of the Chronicle that are based on Latin and Greek authors. What else must be placed to the credit of Count Wilhelm is a problem that remains to be solved.

Pp. 184-186. Miscellen. 1. F. Zucker, *Zur Frage des Papyrusmonopols*. The author is unwilling to admit for the Ptolemaic period the existence of a state monopoly of papyrus, but agrees that there is every reason to believe that there existed an imperial monopoly in the second century A. D.

Pp. 187-194. F. Boll, *Zu Stephanos von Byzanz und Herodian*. Boll shows that Stephanus, through a misunderstanding of the grammarian Herodian created such ethnica as *Σκορπιανοί, Ζυγιοί, Ταυριοί, Τοξιοί*, etc. Passages from astrological treatises are cited to show that the alleged ethnica are really designations of persons that were born under the signs of the zodiac indicated in the respective root-syllables of those words.

Pp. 195-204. Otto Schroeder, *ΝΟΜΟΣ Ο ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ*. Interpretation of the phrase. For a review of this

article by Professor Gildersleeve see pp. 218-221 of the previous number of this Journal.

Pp. 205-247. Arthur Ludwich, Ueber die Homerischen Glossen Apions. A new edition, with critical commentary, of all the Apionian glosses thus far published, among which have been inserted in their proper places the hitherto unpublished glosses of Vindobonensis phil. gr. 321, foll. 203 sqq., saec. XIV. For three of the five MSS the editor has used his own collations. The glosses of the new publication are arranged in strictly alphabetical order. Each gloss is accompanied by an indication of the MS or MSS in which it is found, and by a number or numbers to show its relative position in those MSS. Only one-half of the work is here published. The other half is to appear in a subsequent issue.

Pp. 248-282. Leo Weber, ΣΥΚΑ ΕΦ ΕΡΜΗΙ. II. (Continuation from pp. 92-118.) 1. Das Grabepigramm auf die Toten von Kypros (449). Discussion, critical and exegetical, of the epigram transmitted by Diod. XI 62, A. P. VII 206, and Aristid. II 209 D. (=28, 64 K., 512 D.), beginning ἐξ οὗ γ' Εὐρώπην Ἀσίας δίχα πόντος ἔνειμε. The author rejects the view that the epigram was a dedicatory inscription and maintains that it was an epitaph on the Athenians that fell at Cyprus. 2. Die Eion-Epigramme. Discussion of the three epigrams transmitted by Aeschin. III 184 and by Plut. Cim. 7. Weber argues that the Plutarchean version is older and better than the Aeschinean, and defends the order and the genuineness of the epigrams.

Pp. 283-312. Otto Könncke, Zu Theokrit. II. Discussion of Theocritus 1, 29 sqq.; 105 sqq.; 29, 35 sqq.; 13, 22-24; 5, 94 sqq.; 29, 3; 25, 175 sqq.; 2, 64 sq.; 12, 22; 35-37; 16, 16-21; 21, 15; 23, 5; 6; 18; 57; 29, 19.

Pp. 313-350. M. Boas, Neue Catobbruchstücke. I. Presentation of the results of a careful collation and study of cod. Barb. Lat. VIII 41, s. XIII-XIV, for the Disticha Catonis. An exhibit of the extra-vulgate elements of the text—among them a hitherto unknown distich—is followed by a discussion of selected readings that are thought to shed especial light on the textual tradition. The study concludes with an exposition of the relationship of the Barbarinus to the rest of the MSS.

Pp. 351-383. P. Lehmann, Cassiodorstudien. (Continuation from LXXIII 253-273.) VI. Libripotens. The epithet *libripotens* was first applied to Cassiodorus in the opening of a poem of ten verses contained in St. Gall MS 199. Petrus of Pisa may have been the author of this poem. VII. Der Römerbriefkommentar. Lehmann cites a passage of Hinkmar of Reims which, he thinks, contains a reference to a Commentary

of Cassiodorus on Paul's Epistle to the Romans. He also cites four passages from Abelard which, he likewise thinks, contain references to the same work. VIII. Cassiodor-Isidor-Beda-Alchvine. Study of the indebtedness of Isidore, Bede, and Alcuin to Cassiodorus.

Pp. 384-445. Wilhelm Soltau, Die echten Kaiserbiographien: Der Weg zur Lösung des Problems der Scriptores Historiae Augustae. The corpus Scriptorum Historiae Augustae is the result of the final redaction by Julius Capitolinus, at about 400 A. D., of sundry historical and rhetorical works (of varying date, character and authenticity) which were fraudulently modified and enlarged by the redactor in a manner designed to deceive the reader and make him believe that the whole was a work of the time of Diocletian and Constantine. Capitolinus was responsible specifically for 1) All the dedications to the emperors. 2) The Lives of Helius, Geta, Diadumenus, Cassius (after Gallicanus), Niger, Albinus. 3) A portion of the Lives of the Maximini and the Gordiani. 4) Probably the Lives of the four usurpers of the times of Probus and Carus. 5) The interpolations from Eutropius at Marcus 16-18 and those from Victor at Severus 19-21. The authorship of the rest of the corpus is to be distributed as follows: Section A (the ten emperors from 117-218) is the work of Spartianus and was composed about 297. Dedications to Diocletian and passages of Eutropius and of Victor have been interpolated. Section D (four emperors from 270-283) is by Vopiscus and was produced about 305-312. All the letters and documents of this section are forgeries, chiefly of Pollio, who belongs to the time of Theodosius. Section B was composed after 360. The Lives of Elagabalus and Alexander were written by Lampridius; those of the Maximini and the Gordiani are partly the work of Lampridius and partly forgeries of Capitolinus. Even the genuine portions of this section are interpolated with forgeries. Section C is the work of a freedman of Pollio and was published under the name of Trebellius Pollio. The Life of Claudius was composed after 345, and the Lives of the Thirty Tyrants and of Valerian and Gallienus, probably later than 360.

Pp. 446-459. Gustav Herbig, Satre-Saturnus. *satre* is the Etruscan chthonic god Saturn. Both words go back to a supposed primitive **saii-tur*, from which were derived **saii-tur-na* and **saii-tur-e*, which in turn yielded sa-tr-e, Sā-tur-nus, Sae-tur-nus, sau-tur-i-ne, sa-tur-i-nie, etc. **saii-* is related to Lat.-Etrusc. Savius, and may be connected with Thracian-Phrygian Σαου-ά-ζιος, Σαβάζιος.

Pp. 460-469. F. Muller Jzn., Etr. flere. On the coping of a well that forms part of a picture on an Etruscan mirror (Ger-

hard, Tafel CLXX) is inscribed the word *flere*. Herbig (Philologus LI) concluded that the ordinary meaning of the word was 'iron' and that in the picture *flere* was the Etruscanization of the Greek name Σιδηρό. Muller, on the other hand, thinks that *flere* means 'casing or coping of a well,' and compares 'falere' in Varro, LL. III 5, 14 and 16, where the context shows that the word means a 'stone reservoir.'

Pp. 470-474. Miscellen. 1. T. O. Achelis, O si tacuisses! (470-472). Boethius, Consol. II 7, is not the only source of this phrase. It is also found in a fable contained in Hervieux' Fabulistes latins (1884), p. 654: Si tacuisses, esses (sc. philosophus). 2. A. Zimmermann, Noch einmal die Duenosinschrift (472 sq.). Another interpretation. 3. Carl Erich Gleye, Die metrischen Hermenien der Moskauer mittelhellenischen Sprichwörtersammlung (473 sq.). An example (Migne Patr. Gr. 37, 921) is given to show that the Γνωμικὰ διόστιχα of Gregory of Nazianzus may throw light upon the metrical explanations of the Moscow collection of proverbs.

C. W. E. MILLER.

GLOTTA IX, 1 (1917), 2-4 (1918).

Pp. 1-32. F. Hartmann, Germanus. Study of the origin of the term *Germani* as applied to the Germans.

Pp. 33-69. Jarl Charpentier, Zur italischen Wortkunde. 1. *squaleo* und Verwandtes. 2. *hedera*. 3. *niger* und Verwandtes. 4. *taeda*. 5. *vervago*, *vervactum*. 6. *cāseus*. 7. *tullius*. 8. *umbr. vaperē* usw. 9. *iūniperus*. 10. *pulmo* und Verwandtes. 11. *miliūs*, *mīlvus*. 12. *baia*. 13. *puteus*. 14. *taeter*, *taedet*. 15. *vespertilio*.

Pp. 69-94. O. Lautensach, Grammatische Studien zu den attischen Tragikern und Komikern. (Continuation of Glotta VII 92 sqq., Supplement to Glotta VIII 196.) Study of the forms of the imperative.

Pp. 94-96. Ernst Assmann, Zur Etymologie von δοῦλος und θῆς. The former is a Babylonian-Assyrian loan-word (cf. *dullu*, 'service, work'), the latter is of West-Semitic origin (cf. Hebrew *tahti*, 'the lower one, the lowest').

Pp. 97-109. J. Geffcken und G. Herbig, Ναξός. Geffcken thinks that in εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ ναξός (so to be accented) παγχρύσεός (v. l. χρύσεος σφυρήλατός) εἰμι κολοσσός, / ἐξώλης εἰη Κυβελιδῶν γενεά (FHG. IV 307), "ναξός παγχρύσεός" was the original reading. ναξός is derived from νάσσω and is in effect = σφυρήλατος. Herbig adds a study on the morphology of ναξός and its congeners.

Pp. 109-112. Nikos A. Bees (Βέης), Die Worte *βόθρος*, *βάραθρον*=*βάθρον* in einer christlich-epigraphischen Formel. Examples of the substitution of *βόθρος* or *βάραθρον* for *βάθρον* in the formula *ἐκτίσθη (ἐκαυνοῦργήθη etc.) ἐκ βάθρου (-ων)*.

Pp. 112-123. W. Kroll, Anfangsstellung des Verbums im Lateinischen. The author gives examples from Petronius, Livy, Cicero, Terence, and Plautus to show for the verb the existence of an initial sentence-position inherited from the original mother-tongue.

Pp. 123-129. Carl Weyman, Lexikalische Notizen. (Continuation of Glotta III 191 sqq.). VI. *circumsisto*=*circumpono*? VII. *confundere*=*fundere*? VII. *ugulum (ugulus)*=*ingulatio*. IX. *o(b)stare* used as a transitive. X. *pereger*.

Pp. 129-168. Manu Leumann, Die Adjektiva auf *-īcius*. Study of the origin and relationship of adjectives in *-īcius* and *-īcius*. The words are classified and stemmata indicating their relationships are added.

Pp. 168-183. W. A. Baehrens, Vermischte Bemerkungen zur griechischen und lateinischen Sprache. I. Mixed Constructions. II. Study of certain ellipses and kindred constructions. III. Discussion of several examples of the *ἐπὶ κοινού* construction.

Pp. 183-191. F. Muller Jzn., *Damnas*. Muller argues, against Brugmann, for the derivation of *damnas* from *damnatos*. He regards *damnatos* as an adjective from *damnum* rather than as the perfect participle of *damno*, and suggests Osc.-Umbr. origin.

P. 192. W. A. Baehrens, Berichtigung. Correction of Kroll's misinterpretation (Glotta VIII 326) of the author's scansion of Phaedrus I 3, 7.

Pp. 193-202. M. Boas, Die vulgärlateinische Form *prode*. The author favors the old explanation that *prode est* is derived from *prodest* after the analogy of *pote est*=*potest*. Among other new examples of *prode esse (prodeesse)* he cites a few from the oldest MSS of the Disticha Catonis. The latter examples, however, he regards as vulgarisms that are to be attributed to the scribe and not to the author of the Disticha.

Pp. 202-208. B. A. Müller, *Utriclarii*. Müller rejects the view that *utriclarii* were bagpipers or that they were masters of rafts floated on inflated skins, and contends that they were a guild of makers of *utriculi* (leather bottles) and perhaps also of *utres*.

P. 208. P. Kretschmer, Dissimilationen. Etrusc. *Memrun* (= *Μέμνων*), *Aχmemrun*, *Aχmenrun* (= *Ἀγαμέμνων*), Lat. *grōma*

(grūma) (=Gr. γνώμων γγῶμα), Πολύοκτος (=Πολύοπτος), Lat. sāvium (from suāvium) are explained as examples of dissimilation.

Pp. 209-236. Paul Kretschmer, Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1915. Griechisch. Review of works dealing with the Greek language.

Pp. 236-272. Felix Hartmann (236-264) and W. Kroll (264-272), Italische Sprachen und lateinische Grammatik. Similar review for Latin and the Italic dialects.

P. 272. W. Kroll, Blattfüllsel. Examples of manere and μένειν in the sense of 'dwell'.

Pp. 273-284. A. Nehring, Indices.

C. W. E. MILLER.

BRIEF MENTION.

Persius will not let me go. The 'crabbed coxcomb,' as Daw in Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman* calls him, has crossed my path again, this time in the Loeb Classical Library, where he appears, as often, in company with Juvenal, both translated by Professor G. G. RAMSAY, to whom I last paid my respects A. J. P. XII (1891) 519. The professor, like myself, is an ancient of days, but the Greeks had scant mercy on the Κρόνιοι, the βεκεσέληνοι—the Mid-Victorians; and, whereas a writer in a recent *Atlantic*, proclaiming the Remarkable Rightness of Rudyard Kipling, makes an exception of the verses entitled *The Old Men*, there is not one of Kipling's poems that I value more highly as a corrective to the weaknesses of old age. I shall therefore be perfectly frank in what I shall say about the new Persius. Nothing is given out by the editor and translator about the text, not even as to the basis. It is hardly fair to expect an independent revision of the text from every Loeb workman, and, as the difficulty of Persius has helped to baffle the scribes, it is as well. At all events, I have not been at the pains to note the variants from the Buecheler text. There are, however, a few references to Mr. Housman, whose bearing towards other scholars has evidently inspired Professor RAMSAY with a wholesome dread of the editor of Manilius and the pungent lyricist of *A Shropshire Lad*. Apart from this tribute to Mr. Housman, no literature is given later than Conington's first edition of 1872. And yet something has been done for Persius in the last forty years, something to be gathered from Némethy and Ramorino (A. J. P. XXVII 103) or Van Wageningen (A. J. P. XXXIII 236), all of whom have shamed me into reading Persius again. Of course, we find a safe compliment to Casaubon, but there ought to have been a distinct recognition of Jahn's wonderful erudition. As for the translation itself, due homage is paid to Conington's rendering—and no wonder—but Conington is not faultless, as what translator is? In order to make Persius interesting, Conington is apt to overtranslate and undertakes to be picturesque at all hazards; and it is worth noting that Professor RAMSAY feels himself called upon to adopt one of Conington's translations and emphasize, in a foot-note, its aptness of rendering (I, 124 praegrandi . . . sene, 'Grand Old Man'), though the translation sins against what ought to be a cardinal principle of a faithful interpreter, not to thrust modernisms into an ancient classic. Frere emphasizes

the canon, and Professor Shorey (A. J. P. XIII 351 sq.) has counted the violations of it as one of the failings of Jowett's Plato.

For one, I resent the intrusion of the shade of Gladstone into the light of classical studies. True, some time ago I cited his translation of the Odes of Horace, but Horace belongs to the whole world, and the failure of my own eyesight prompted an envious mention of the man who in like case held the entire text of the Odes in the grasp of his powerful memory. Just now, however, I am thinking of his various studies of Homer, over which I wasted too many hours at the time of their publication, misled, as I was, by the celebrity of the author. The powerful memory to which I have referred played him false in Homer. Among other slips I remember reading in a magazine article of his on the realm of Odysseus the statement that Homer gives no intimation of the distance between the swine-cotes of Eumaios and the palace of his master. He had forgotten or overlooked the passage in which Eumaios urges an early start (17, 190 f.),

ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἵομεν · δὴ γὰρ μέμβλωκε μάλιστα
ἡμαρ, ἀτὰρ τάχα τοι ποτὶ ἔσπερα ῥίγιον ἔσται,

and there are others still more convincing, the collection of which I owe to the kindness of Professor Miller.¹ Those Homeric studies—what a tissue of rash assertions, fantastic combinations and topsy-turvy theories! To a man of my way of thinking, the very title 'Juventus Mundi' is a sad misnomer.

I will not pause to consider Professor RAMSAY's handling of the few scabrous passages in Persius. They are few, it is true, but even more offensive to refined souls than anything in the many audacities of Juvenal, whose Sixth Satire has long been a stone of stumbling to those editors and translators who cater for the teachers of ingenuous youth. Even I who do not consider myself squeamish failed in my Latin Grammar to emphasize an important lesson in case construction by quoting a line to which Thackeray, who chafed under the bonds of Victorian prudery, mischievously alludes—*Lassata viris necdum satiata recessit*, and which teaches the distinction between instrumentality and agency, between

¹ 14, 9; 108; 372 ff.; 15, 37 ff.; 305 ff.; 504 ff.; 553; 16, 130; 154 f.; 169 f.; 321 f.; especially 452 f. and 466 f. compared with 16, 1 ff.; 17, 22 ff.; 185; 190 f.; 204 ff.; 599 ff.

tool and person. And this needful distinction, which is not made in every grammar, reminds me of a droll sentence with which a grammarian, much lauded in his day, begins his abridgment of Livy: *Romulus et Remus lupa nutriti sunt*. Precocious infants, if they knew the difference between the taste of he-wolf and she-wolf!

For many decades we moderns of English or American stock have been more or less devout worshippers of the great goddess Euphemia. But the Tudor translators were not finical. The learned divines of the Jerusalem chamber to whom we owe the Authorized Version rendered the frank Hebrew into equally frank English, regardless of the example of the Masorettes, who offered marginal equivalents. The Caroline version of Rabelais is studded with unbashful words such as seldom see their faces in print. But that was an era when the grave moralist, Sir Thomas Browne, referred to the Library of St. Victor and quoted the treatise of Tartaretus. As time went on the world of print at least became more reserved. The reign of asterisks and dashes began. Mindful of the injunction of Juvenal—arch-sinner that he was—and his ‘*maxima reverentia*’ sentence, the editors of the Delphin classics—the favorite editions of my boyhood—sowed the ‘*ordo*’ with stars which lighted the wicked boys to dusty dictionaries. The initial and final letters of the national monosyllables were kept apart by an iron bar. One popular translation of the Decameron that I remember called in the naughty Gaul to translate the Italian’s more venturesome stories. And so the dull film of decency overspread the world of letters until it reached the opacity of the Victorian age. Scholars ventured to emasculate that spoiled darling of the Muses, Aristophanes, but some of them, alas! did not know what to leave out or what to substitute.

Some forty years ago there appeared, under the pseudonymous authorship of one Kisselak, a little volume which purposed to guard unsuspecting foreigners against the danger of using too suggestive combinations in English. No one thereafter was to quote ‘Or by the lazy Scheldt or wandering Po.’ For ‘wandering’ the speaker, careful not to offend the delicate ears of the British spinster, was to substitute the word ‘river.’ But this brings us into the forbidden ground of the ‘double entente.’ No vague paraphrase, no clumsy excision, is as bad as the double entente translation. It soils the soul of him who frames it and of him who guesses unless they are

furnished with the waterproof of the philological anatomist. But the attitude of the whole modern world towards sexual questions has of late years been greatly changed. Our benevolent government is flooding the country with circulars that deal with the process—we no longer say the mystery—of reproduction. Beginning at a tender age with the garden in which stamens and pistils and pollen play their part, we advance to the culmination in the God of the Garden and become possessed of what ribalds of an earlier generation would call a *Gradus ad Priapum*. In the future ages there will be no expurgated editions or emasculated versions, but foot-notes excusing the defective nomenclature of some of the most notorious passages.

The first section of this *Persius Brief Mention* was written several months ago and was to have been followed by a comparison of Professor RAMSAY'S translation with that of Dr. Hemphill, which the later translator might have consulted with profit. There might have been an incidental discussion of various readings but all such work or play is no longer possible for me, and I am constrained to dismiss *Persius* indefinitely from my range of physical as well as mental vision. Still, there is one of his vigorous verses that comes up to me in connexion with an apology I desire to make for the grewsome use of *Pindar's Eighth Olympian* (A. J. P. XL 102 f.). No more searching line in literature than

Virtutem videant intabescantque relictæ.

The curse there pronounced is terrific enough. My youthful association with the Guelphs of a Hanoverian university helped to confirm the aversion to the Hohenzollerns engendered by a semester in Berlin, and when it comes to the question of punishment of those who are considered by some the arch-enemies, I change the line to

<Imperium> videant intabescantque relict<o>.

Some years ago Farrar's Greek Verb was selected by Sir William Osler for special objurgation from the layman's point of view, and I took occasion to say a word or two in behalf of the guild to which Farrar and I at one time belonged (A. J. P. XXX 108). Now that Farrar has been withdrawn from the world and I have perforce fallen out of the ranks of grammatical investigators, I am not tempted to deepen my slight acquaintance with the Dean's performances—doubtless even more antiquated than mine. Other works of his, more popular in their character, are more present to my mind. He

was a man of astounding memory, but his memory was a snare as good memories are apt to be, and his contribution to the Speaker's Commentary was riddled by a critic who pointed out the many inaccuracies¹ that blunted the points and blurred the colors of his frequent quotations.² One of his books bore the catching title of 'Seekers after God,' and it is this title that comes up to me in connexion with one of the most fascinating and irritating confessions ever contributed to American literature, to wit, The Education of Henry Adams. Every education is a manner of seeking after the 'Deus in nobis.' Perhaps I might have brought in what I have to say about the book under the head of the *Ἰχνηράι*, the Sleuthhounds of Sophokles, but the long course of my studies has made me more or less familiar with other seekers, with the Hermotimus of Lucian and the Dialogue with Trypho of Justin Martyr. Lucian and Justin belonged to the same period, a period of seeking. The two quests are in a sense parallel, and Henry Adams and I are, or were, coevals with the difference that he came into the world with the Adams glaze upon him, whereas I was and am still a porous vessel. Of course, the six years that separate our birthdays may count somewhat, and yet he followed me closely at German universities, so far as age was concerned. He was twenty when he was matriculated at Berlin, and I nineteen. True, I was a student of Ancient Languages and he contemplated a course in the Civil Law.³ True, Adams is gracious enough to limit his condemnation to his own department, though judging from the account he gives of his studies at Harvard, he would not have been permeable to the influences that transformed my life. No one less susceptible than Henry Adams to what I have called the catalytic effect of a great man's presence. 'Beyond two or three Greek plays the student

¹ Indeed, if the Dean had been a pagan, he might, when dying, have emulated the example of Sokrates and acknowledged the debt of a hecatomb of bulls to the father of Asklepios.

² I never criticize others without an overmastering desire to make a 'nos <critici> desumus' confession of my own shortcomings in the matter under consideration. Among my misquotations, not thus far acknowledged, I note here Landor's 'sceptred race', which figures as 'princely race' A. J. P. XXIII, 26, l. 7; Milton's 'sport with Amaryllis in the shade' appears as 'play' XXX 108, l. 29; and the 'nuit' of Victor Hugo's 'portes de la nuit' has been deadened into 'mort' XXXIV 115, l. 14.

³ His first lecture was his last. The young man was not very quick, and he had almost religious respect for his guides and advisers; but he needed no more than one hour to satisfy him that he had made another failure in education, and this time a fatal one.

'That the language would require at least three months' hard work before he could touch the Law was an annoying discovery; but the shock that upset him was the discovery of the university itself.'

'He had thought Harvard College a torpid school, but it was instinct with life compared with all that he could see of the University of Berlin.'

got nothing out of ancient languages <as taught at Harvard>' and yet my comrade George Martin Lane had returned from Germany and had begun his quickening work (A. J. P. XVIII 371). As for the Civil Law, I can only judge by the reports that men made to me, by the American students of law at Göttingen and Heidelberg. Their enthusiasm was contagious and, as my own studies brought me into the precincts of the Civil Law, I seriously contemplated the possibility of adding J. U. D. to Ph. D. by becoming a disciple of Vangerow and Mittermaier. A long experience as a teacher has given me some sad reminiscences of those who came into my school with a glaze, however and wherever acquired, and perhaps Henry Adams himself would not have added so many brilliant chapters to his autobiography if the Maryland flaw in his native glaze had not offered an escape to the divinity that was in him.

'God-gifted organ-voice of England'. God-gifted? O yes! but Milton's organ-voice was trained by the ancient teachers of artistic speech, and the great poet whose memory held in store the classic names of the winds made acknowledgment to the Greek rhetoricians, among them 'Phalereus', otherwise known as Demetrius. I have more than once emphasized the waste of time involved in a neglect of rhetoric, rhetoric of the old stamp (cf. A. J. P. XXIV 101 foll.). Writing is after all art, and who studied that art more carefully than the ancient masters? Carlyle lamented that no one taught him the names of the constellations and some of the gifted—all the gifted are God-gifted according to St. James—might have profited by certain elementary lessons. Undoubtedly the author of Uncle Remus was a highly gifted man, and it is interesting to learn from his recently published correspondence that his mind was very busy with problems of literary composition, such as are generally considered remote from your natural genius. So, for instance, he insisted on the difference between 'diction' and 'style', but got no further than the formula. 'Diction is the body—the flesh and bone—and style is the spirit.' But diction (*λέξις*) is only one element of style (*ἐρμηνεία*), and much else goes to make up style. Still *μίμησις* will always hold its own, even with those who have no tincture of classical training, and the admiration Joel Chandler Harris lavished on Cardinal Newman's style is an evidence of his artistic instinct.

ERRATUM: P. 223, l. 1, for 'Single Speed' read 'Single Speech.'—B. L. G.

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I. THE THEORY OF THE HOMERIC CAESURA ACCORDING TO THE EXTANT REMAINS OF THE ANCIENT DOCTRINE.

The doctrine of the caesura, especially of the Homeric caesura, holds an important place both in metric and in the teaching and appreciation of Greek verse, yet there are few questions in classical scholarship about which there is more confusion, or wider difference of opinion. This is seen in the variety of reasons given for the phenomenon of caesura of the dactylic hexameter, and in the failure of each of these reasons to be entirely satisfactory. They include the following:

(1) The hexameter is too long for a rhythmical unit (*πρὸς μέγιστος*); it therefore consists of two *cola*, and the caesura marks the end of the first *colon*. This, the most commonly accepted explanation of the reason for caesura, is open to several objections. Caesura of the iambic trimeter is not to be explained thus, for this verse does not overstep the limits of a single *πρὸς μέγιστος*. Again, in melic poetry the end of a *colon* is not necessarily marked by a word-end, which is recognized as indispensable for caesura by all ancient, and most modern, writers on metric. Furthermore, the acceptance of this explanation has led to unnecessarily rigid conclusions, some modern metricians arguing for only one caesura in the hexameter, and that always in the third foot. But it is perfectly natural, and even desirable, that the constituent *cola* should be of varying length, and that occasionally a hexameter should contain not two, but three, *cola*. The strongest objection, however, lies in the fact that the doctrine of the *πρὸς μέγιστος* was established

in the attempt to explain the laws of *melic* poetry. Caesura, on the other hand, is concerned chiefly with the recited trimeter and with the hexameter, which, long before the time of Aristoxenus, had ceased to be sung. The Homeric hexameter is a distinct genre of verse, and we have no means of knowing that the principle of the *ποὺς μέγιστος* satisfactorily explains the phenomena of its rhythm. In all probability, as we shall see later, Aristoxenus knew nothing about caesura.¹

(2) The verse composed of a maximum length of 17 syllables is too long to be recited comfortably in a single breath.² Doubtless this is true in a certain sense. It does not, however, explain why the caesura should be found only in the third foot and not in any other possible place within the verse, nor does it bar the recognition of many caesuraless verses—which is contrary to the prevailing doctrine—for it is certainly possible, and sometimes even desirable, to pronounce a phrase as long as the hexameter in a single breath. It is to be noticed in passing that this explanation makes caesura a slight *pause*, as the reason given above makes it a musical *hold*, and both without regard to the thought of the verse.

(3) The hexameter is too long for a single syntactical unit.³ We must postpone the discussion of this statement until we take up the meaning of caesura.

(4) The hexameter, like all verses of six feet, has a tendency to break up into groups of 3 + 3, or 2 + 2 + 2 feet. "Care was taken to counteract this and preserve unity by arranging the words so that in general their divisions and those of the sense should not coincide with places at which the meter of the music was likely to break up" (Verrall in Whibley, *Companion to Greek Studies*,¹ 625). The use of caesura as a means of binding the verse together has been pointed out also by Lehrs (Aristarchus,² 414) and by Professor M. W. Humphreys (*Trans. Amer. Philol. Assn.* X 26). The frequency with which

¹ On the hexameter as a variety of verse distinct from lyric, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Griech. Lit.* 9; for the bearing of this distinction on the doctrine of caesura, White, *Verse of Greek Comedy*, 52. Professor Goodell makes some excellent remarks on the caesura of the trimeter in *Class. Phil.*, I (1906), 148 f.

² Wilamowitz, l. c.; cf. van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium*, 3.

³ Christ, *Metrik*,¹ 186.

the so-called bucolic diaeresis occurs in Homeric verse indicates that this principle must not be applied too strictly.

(5) The hexameter is a compound verse, made up of two shorter verses; the caesura is a survival of the end of the first short verse. This—an entirely modern doctrine—rests upon insufficient evidence, and must be regarded as unproven.⁴

The difference of opinion with regard to the reason for caesura has resulted in a failure to agree on a satisfactory definition of the term. A century ago, Gottfried Hermann, the father of Greek metric in modern times, gave three possible meanings of caesura:⁵

I. Caesura occurs where a word ends within a verse; hence there are as many caesurae as there are word-endings in the verse.

II. In a stricter sense caesura is found only where a rhythmical phrase ends with a word.

III. Since in reciting one must also pay attention to the meaning of the words, the completion of the thought must determine the choice between two or more possible caesurae.

These three statements characterize the three distinct classes into which the great body of modern doctrine about the caesura is divided, according as emphasis is laid upon the metrical, rhythmical or logical nature of the *τομή*. Of course considerable eclecticism is found, but speaking generally, all modern metrists belong to one or other of these three classes.

The metrical theory of caesura, first upheld in modern times by Spitzner (*de versu heroico*, 1816, 3 f.), has the greatest number of adherents. It is the *via media*, and affords room for straying on either side. Hence metrical caesurists are inclined more or less to recognize the value of caesura as a musical hold, or as a logical pause. On the other hand, the supporters of the rhythmical, as well as of the logical, doctrine, are ever and anon constrained by the facts to wander into the neutral area of the metrical caesura.

The rhythmical or musical definition was maintained to the exclusion of the other two, first in modern times by Apel

⁴Cf. K. Witte in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, VIII (1913), 2241 ff.

⁵*Elementa doctrinae metricae* (1816), 32 ff.

(Metrik, 1814, 336). He has been followed by Lehrs (Aristarchus,² 1865, 414, cf. 409); W. Meyer, *Zur Geschichte des griechischen und lateinischen Hexameters*, 1884, 1000; A. Engelbrecht, *Die Caesuren des Hexameters*, in *Serta Harteliana*, 1896, 311, cf. 307, 308; and many of the French writers on metric, e. g., Riemann et Dufour, *Traité de Rythmique et de Métrique grecques*, 1898, chap. I, and especially Masqueray, *Traité de Métrique grecque*, 1899, 49.

The logical caesurists include as protagonists, beside Hermann himself, W. Christ, *Metrik*,¹ 1879, 184 ff., and T. D. Seymour, *Harvard Studies*, III, 1892, 91-129.

One of the most recent, as well as one of the best, discussions of caesura (by the late Professor J. W. White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy*, 1912) is decidedly eclectic in its position. The author admits that caesura belongs to recited, and not to melic, verse. Nevertheless, he explains the necessity of caesura by reference to the purely rhythmical doctrine of the *πὸς μέγιστος* (pp. 7, 152). He likewise recognizes the importance of the definition of caesura given by the Anonymus Ambrosianus (cited below, p. 359), which makes a pause in sense the essential requisite of caesura. Yet in spite of this, he admits caesura at the end of a word where the thought cannot by any reasonable understanding be complete. His discussion has all the disadvantages of the eclectic position, and by no means settles the question. Thus a century of research and criticism has left us still uncertain what value we are to give to caesura in the oral rendering of Homeric verse, for it has failed to make clear the nature of the pause which caesura is said to be.

To illustrate this uncertainty let us take an example, selected from the *Iliad* almost at random (Z 514-516):

καρχαλέον, ταχέες δὲ πόδες φέρον· αἶψα δ' ἔπειτα
Ἑκτορα δῖον ἔτετμεν ἀδελφεόν, εὖτ' ἄρ' ἔμελλεν
στρέψουσθ' ἐκ χώρης, ὅθι ἦ δάριζε γυναικί.

All the rhythmical, and most of the metrical, caesurists would make a pause after *δέ* in vs. 514, and after *ἔτετμεν* in vs. 515, and even Professor White's theory requires a 'secondary pause' in these two places. The present writer and, I am inclined to think, most modern readers of Homer, would make no pause in the oral rendering of these lines, not even at the end of the

verse, which is not required by the sense, and indicated, here at least, by punctuation. The doctrine of caesura, however, as generally understood, stands in the way. For if caesura is a pause, and if there is always a caesura (even a secondary caesura) in the third foot, or if not in the third, at least in the fourth foot, we must make a slight pause after *δέ* and after *ἔτεμεν*. We must admit, therefore, that the work of the last one hundred years has left the doctrine of caesura in an unsatisfactory form. This is due largely to the failure to consider the date at which the doctrine came into existence in ancient times, and the widely differing age of the statements about caesura which have come down to us from antiquity. A review of the extant remains of the ancient doctrine may therefore help to remove some of our uncertainty, and lay the foundation for a better understanding of the phenomenon.

Τομή of the verse was probably not recognized either by this name or as a fact until after the beginning of the Roman empire. Certainly Aristotle gives no indication that he knew of its existence.* Whether Aristoxenus mentioned the *τομαί* cannot of course be determined. The probabilities are that he did not, for he was interested rather in melic verse in which, according to the ancient doctrine, caesura is of little importance. Moreover, the fact that the so-called bucolic caesura received its

* Some modern scholars cite as evidence that in the time of Aristotle the so-called feminine caesura was known, the following passage from the *Metaphysics* (1093a): *βαλνεραι* (sc. τὸ ἔπος) ἐν μὲν τῷ δεξιῷ ἑννέα συλλαβαίς, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ὀκτώ, "In scanning the hexameter there are nine syllables on the right, and eight on the left." But, as the present writer has shown, both the statement of the scholiast (Alexander, 832, 33, Brandis) and all the evidence make it plain that the Pythagoreans whom Aristotle is quoting meant by *δεξιόν* the *first* part of the verse, and that they were calling attention to the fact that there were more syllables in the first three feet of the verse than in the last three, and were commenting upon the number of syllables in each half (C. P. XI 458 ff. To the modern metricians cited there should be added van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium* 13 f.). Usener, *Altgriechischer Versbau*, 42, who followed Bonitz, *Comment. in Arist. Metaph.*, p. 594 f., in taking *δεξιόν* to mean the *second* part of the verse, used the passage in support of the theory that the feminine caesura represents the end of the first of the two short verses from which the hexameter was derived. The investigations of the past generation have shown the weakness of the other arguments of Usener; see K. Witte, *op. cit.* 2242.

name from its frequency in bucolic poetry indicates that the doctrine of caesura was developed after Alexandrian times. Finally, Varro, who is thought to have been familiar with Greek metric and who is the first extant authority to mention the importance of a word-end within the verse, apparently made the discovery for himself.⁷ That the doctrine of caesura was not known in Varro's day is further indicated by the silence of Dionysius Hal. In the *De Comp. Verb.*, 26, Dionysius pays considerable attention to the rhythm of both melic and recitative poetry as resembling that of prose, and especially to the variety of rhythms produced by the differing length of the grammatical *κῶλα* and *κόμματα*, but makes no mention of *τομή*. It is hard to believe that if he had known of the theory of caesura he would have failed to mention it. The *terminus post quem* may therefore be placed somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era. The *terminus ante quem* is about one hundred years later. The first Greek definition of *τομή* which has come down to us is that of Aristides Quint., who probably belongs to the third century, A. D. But the doctrine must have been formulated more than a century earlier. We are told by Choeroboscus (Hephaestion, 229, 15, Consbruch) that Hephaestion, who is thought to have lived in the second century, A. D., mentioned the caesurae of the trimeter, and Terentianus Maurus, who was familiar with Greek metric, and who discusses caesura in detail, is now generally assigned to the same century. Finally, Hermogenes, a younger contemporary of Marcus Aurelius, mentions the *τομαί* without comment,⁸ showing that the doctrine was well-established by about 150 A. D. We conclude that the doctrine of caesura was formulated during the first hundred years of the present era—long after the great age of Alexandrian scholarship.

Our earliest extant Greek exposition of the doctrine, that of Arist. Quint., is as follows (51 f., M.):—*τομαί δὲ εὐκρινεῖς αὐτοῦ, πρώτη μὲν ἢ μετὰ δύο πόδας εἰς συλλαβήν, ἣ καὶ διπλασιαζομένη ποιεῖ τὸ*

⁷ Cf. Aul. Gell. XVIII 15, M. etiam Varro in libris disciplinarum scripsit, obseruasse sese in uersu hexametro, quod omnimodo quintus semipes uerbum finiret et quod priores quinque semipedes aequae magnam uim haberent in efficiendo uersu atque alii posteriores septem, idque ipsum ratione quadam geometrica fieri disserit.

⁸ Hermogenes, *περὶ ἰδεῶν* 390, 21, Rabe, *μέτρων διαφόρων τομαί*.

ελεγίον δευτέρα ἢ μετὰ δύο πόδας < εἰς δυσώλλαβον >.* τρίτη δὲ ἢ μετὰ τρεῖς εἰς συλλαβήν. τετάρτη κατ' ἐνόμους, τέσσαρες δάκτυλοι. ἢ, ὅπερ ἄμεινον, τέταρτος τροχαῖος. ἢ γὰρ εἰς ὁμοία μέρη διαίρεσις μᾶλλον ἢ τομή καλεῖται. τομή δέ ἐστι μῦριον μέτρου τὸ πρῶτον ἐν αὐτῷ λόγον ἀπαρτίζον, ὅπερ δύο πόδας εἰς ἀνόμοια μέρη διαιροῦν τὸ μέτρον.

"The appropriate *τομαί* of the dactylic hexameter are (1) the *τομή* which ends after two feet and one syllable; by doubling this *τομή* the elegiac verse is obtained. (2) The *τομή* which ends after two feet and two syllables. (3) The *τομή* which ends after three feet and one syllable. (4) Four dactyls or *what is preferable, the fourth trochee*, for the *τομή* which divides the verse into similar parts is called diaeresis, rather than *τομή*. *Τομή* is that portion of a measure which is formed by the first word-end after the second foot, and divides the measure into dissimilar portions."

Since this discussion of caesura plays a most important rôle in the modern doctrine, it is necessary to point out some of its characteristics:—(1) *Τομή* has its original meaning of 'segment,' rather than 'end of a segment.' (2) No names are given to any of the *τομαί*; the adjective 'bucolic' is not applied to the *τομή* which consists of four dactyls. (3) No examples are given. (4) The term diaeresis is preferred to *τομή* for the segment of the verse which is formed by a word-end after the fourth foot. (Aristides is the only one of all our ancient sources to use this term, which has found a wide acceptance among modern scholars.) (5) The *τομαί* are four in number, but there is uncertainty with regard to the fourth, some metricians holding it to be the first four dactyls, that is, the 'bucolic diaeresis,' while in the opinion of Aristides it is better to regard the 'fourth trochaic' as the fourth *τομή*. This is the most unsatisfactory feature of the whole passage. Evidently Aristides derived his doctrine from at least two sources, one of which held that the caesura which we call the bucolic diaeresis was the fourth *τομή*, while the other, because it considered that the function of *τομή* was to divide the verse into dissimilar portions, rejected the bucolic diaeresis in favor of the fourth trochaic. It is easy to see that the first source is the better of the two. We may note in passing that Aristides mentions it first. But far more

* So Meibom; Jahn substitutes *εἰς τροχαῖον*.

important than this is the consideration that the observed facts with regard to the place of word-ends—not to mention pauses in thought—in the heroic hexameter debar the fourth trochaic from being considered a caesura in almost any sense in which the word may be taken. In Homer a word-end after the fourth trochee is avoided more than at any other place in the verse, and there is never even a slight pause in the sense. On the other hand, we know that the bucolic diaeresis was a favorite caesura. A word-end occurs at the end of the fourth foot in about 60% of all the verses of the Homeric poems, and a pause in thought—often a full stop—very frequently. This consideration alone should make us extremely cautious about giving great value to Aristides' exposition of the doctrine (including the statement that the function of caesura is to divide the verse into dissimilar portions).

This slighting of the bucolic diaeresis in favor of the fourth trochaic is likewise found in Terentianus Maurus, 1695 f. (Gram. Lat. VI 376), who seems to be following the second source of Aristides, for he does not mention B,¹⁰ and he uses the words *quartus trochaeus* to describe the fourth caesura. The weakness of his position with regard to this caesura is apparent from his difficulty in finding an example—which is so great that he is obliged to construct a verse of his own (1700 ff.) :—

*exemplar eius tale confici potest,
quae pax longa remisera, arma novare parabant:
quartus trochaeus arma fit, rarum est tamen.*

Marius Victorinus agrees closely with Terentianus in discussing the *tomae*, which he calls *incisiones*, but never *caesurae*. He regards 4T as the fourth *incisio*, and cites as an example the verse constructed by Terent. (65, 25, Keil). But he was likewise familiar with the tradition represented by the first source

¹⁰ For the sake of brevity the writer, following White, *Verse of Greek Comedy*, 152, will use the following abbreviations for the different caesurae: P = penthemimeral; T = trochaic (the so-called feminine caesura); H = hephthemimeral; B = bucolic diaeresis; 4T = fourth trochaic, and Tr. = triemimeral (this is a word of modern coinage; trithemimeral is, of course, a monster of word-formation, but it was current during the last century. The ancients, with the exception of Ausonius (see below, p. 352), never refer to a caesura after the first syllable of the second foot).

of Arist., for after stating that the heroic verse must have either P, T, H or 4T, he adds (65, 29, K.) non numquam autem evenit ut in eodem versu plures incisiones, id est penthemimeren et hephthemimeren et eam quae quarto *pede* [caesura] partem orationis terminat, quam bucolicen Graeci dicunt, reperiamus, ut

arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris

With this passage should be compared p. 114, 17, K., where Mar. Vict. calls the dactylic tetrameter either a verse or the *third tome* of the heroic verse, tetrameter sive versus sive hexametri heroi tome tertia. In both of the passages just cited Mar. Vict. fails to agree with Arist. in the reason which he gives for the distinction between B and the other tomæ. He regards B as a caesura—as Arist. did not—but not as one of those which are essential to the heroic verse. It may be that he is trying to harmonize the conflicting theories. There is some likelihood, however, that in the last passage quoted (114, 17, K.) he is following a still different tradition, according to which there were only three *τομαί*, P, H, and B. This tradition is preserved in a fragment of Juba (second century, A. D.): sunt praeterea heroi versus, quibus et Homerus et Theocritus facile usi sunt, qui bucolici dicuntur, quorum caesura non penthemimeres nec hephthemimeres, id est in secundo et dimidio vel tertio et dimidio pede, sed in quarto . . . huius exemplum est

dic age, dic mihi † bove Liburnica, qui colis arva.¹¹

Since Juba mentions Homer and Theocritus, we may infer that his source was Greek.

From the sources just cited it is seen that prior to the third century, A. D., no more than four caesurae were recognized in any one formulation of the doctrine, that these four were either P, T, H, B, or P, T, H, 4T, and that in the tradition handed down by Juba there may not have been more than three, P, H, B. As between the first two groups the weight is in favor of the first (P, T, H, B). Indeed it seems probable that 4T was substituted for B by the second source of Arist. because of the notion that a *τομή* was a rhythmical *κόμμα*.¹² But however

¹¹ In the Frag. Bobiense, Gram. Lat. VI 623, 14.

¹² Cf. Atil. Fort. 282, 27, K., Colon est pars, sive partes versus integris pedibus impletae . . . comma pars versus sive partes imperfectae. Cf. Beda, 246, 19, K.

this may have been, the confusion resulting from the two differing sources produced in Byzantine times the doctrine of five *τομαί*, P, T, H, 4T, B.¹³ No other caesura is mentioned by any ancient authority, with a single exception.¹⁴ Ausonius (fourth century, A. D.) writes in the introduction to his *Cento Nuptialis* (*Id.* XIII), *diffinduntur per caesuras omnes . . . aut post dactylum atque semipedem*.¹⁵ That there may be other caesurae is recognized by Priscian (460, 12, K.) and by Joannes Sic. (*Rhet. Graec.* VI 488, Walz), but these are not included among the *εὑρηρεῖς τομαί*. By far the greater number of ancient sources recognize only P, T, H, B. These are the unknown author of the *Tractatus Wolfenbüttel* (*Gram. Lat.* VI 645, 25 f.), which is held by Strähler to be, but for the corruption of the text, our best Latin authority on the caesura; Max. Vict., 240, 1, K.; Anon. Ambros. (the Great Anonymus), 215, Studemund; Anon. Ambros. Q. 158, Studemund; also a number of other Byzantine treatises: Ps.-Plutarch, *de metris*, 2; Ps.-Hephaestion, *zur Jacobsmühlen*, 88; Helias Mon., 172, Stude-

¹³ Strähler, *de caesuris versus Homerici*, Cap. I, Breslau (1889), 26, who cites these treatises: Ps.-Hephaestion, *zur Jacobsmühlen*, 50; Isaac Mon., Bachmann, *Anec. Graec.*, II 186; Ps.-Draco, Hermann, 126; Anon. Ambros. Q, Studemund, 159; Anon. Chisianus, Mangelsdorf, 9.

¹⁴ The author of the late treatise in Ps.-Hephaestion, 30 (= *zur Jacobsmühlen*, Diss. Argentor. X 274) mentions a caesura after the first syllable of the fifth foot, and calls this *βουκολική*, but he was trying to account for the faulty example of the bucolic diaeresis (Γ 308) which is given in several late definitions of caesura. See the article referred to in Note 15.

¹⁵ Engelbrecht, *op. cit.* 293, cites also Hermogenes, *περὶ Ἰδεῶν*, 294, 18, Rabe, where the reference seems to be not to caesura but to a pause in the sense (see below, p. 362), and Priscian, *Gram. Lat.* III 460, 14, *quarta enim [sc. caesura] bucolica magis passio est, sicut hemiepes* (G; hemipes, C; semipes, S) et quarta trochaica et quae inveniuntur per singulos pedes. Engelbrecht adopts the reading of C, and by inserting tertius makes Priscian refer to the triemimeral. But Keil's reading, that of G, hemiepes (i. e., *ἡμίεπες*, the forbidden caesura after the third foot), seems clearly the best. It is easy to see how the copyist finding the reading hemipes, a simple corruption of hemiepes, should have corrected this to semipes. On the other hand, if he had before him semipes, he would not have been likely to write either hemipes or hemiepes. That the ancients noticed the presence of a word-end at the middle of the verse is shown by the present writer in an article on *Βουκολικός* which is to be published in C. P. XV.

mund; Joannes Sic., op. cit. 487; Dion. Thrax, Suppl. III, 123, Uhlig.

The order in which the different caesurae are mentioned throws little light upon the ancient doctrine. There are two possible arrangements, (1) according to the order of importance, and (2) in the order in which they occur in the verse. Aristides and Diomedes alone adopt the second order, P, T, H, B (or P, T, H, 4T). All the rest, with two exceptions,¹⁶ place H before T. (P, H, T, B, or P, H, T, 4T, B.) This is natural for Latin writers, since T is not frequent in the Latin hexameter. But it is strange that all the Greek treatises after Arist., with the single exception of the Great Anonymus, should mention H before T. Apparently for some reason P and H were thought to differ in some way from T. This view finds some support in the evidence from the names of the caesurae. P and H offer no variations from the terms, *πενθημμερής* (*πενθημμερίς*) and *ἑφθημμερής* (*ἑφθημμερίς*) or their Latin equivalents. B shows somewhat greater variety. As we have seen, Arist. alone calls it, not a caesura, but a diaeresis. The others call it *τετραποδία* (Anon. Ambros. Q. 158 f., Studemund), *tetrapodia* (Diomedes, 497, 5 ff., K.), *tetrametra* (Marius Plotius, 502, 10, K.), or else *βουκολική* (*τομή*) or *bucolice tome*.¹⁷ T in some respects stands quite apart in its nomenclature from the three caesurae already mentioned. Its name is never that of a *μέτρον μέτρον*. One writer besides Arist. (Atil. Fort., 284, 28, K.), describes it, without naming it. The rest use *τρίτος τροχάιος*, *κατὰ τρίτον τροχάιον*, *τρίτη τροχαϊκή* (*τομή*) or the Latin equivalents. 4T shows much the same variation in its names. The bearing of this terminology upon the question of the origin of the doctrine of caesura will be discussed later (pp. 364 f.).

Of the five caesurae mentioned by the ancient metricians (P, T, H, 4T, B) 4T is clearly of the least importance. It is not

¹⁶ Priscian, 460, 13, Keil (T, P, H), and the Great Anonymus (H, P, T, B). These exceptions to the usual order seem to have been due to accident or caprice, and apparently have no significance.

¹⁷ Mar. Vict., 65, 33, K., alone of Latin writers, calls this caesura a *divisio*. In doing so he may be following the second source of Aristides, but it is possible that he is using the word in a more general sense, cf. 64, 34, K., qui herous hexameter merito nuncupabitur, si competenti divisionum ratione dirimatur.

mentioned by many of the better sources; where it is mentioned no satisfactory evidence is given, and the facts with regard to Homeric versification are all against it. B will be reserved for separate discussion. The three remaining *τομαί* (P, T, H) are mentioned as caesurae without reservation by practically all the ancient sources.¹⁸ Of these the Latin writers seem to have regarded P and H as the chief caesurae: Mar. Vict., 65, 15, K., erunt igitur hae (i. e. P and H) duae tomæ principales, ut dictum est, heroici versus incisiones, quibus similiter et iambici versus trimetri dividuntur. sed his in heroico duo aliae accedunt. nam si harum neutram inveneris, tertium trochaeum conquires; Ter. Maur., 1685, horum (i. e., P and H) si nihil est, spectare ne forte trochaeus sit tertius. This is sound doctrine for the Latin hexameter, but seems nevertheless to have been due to Greek sources: both writers use Greek terms in describing caesura, and T is placed after H in all our extant Greek sources except Arist. To this fact is perhaps due the failure of modern metricians to recognize until late in the last century the slightly greater importance of the feminine caesura in the Homeric poems.¹⁹

The bucolic caesura was regarded as differing somewhat from the other caesurae. This is shown in many ways. Arist. calls it not a *τομή*, but a diaeresis. Terentianus fails to mention it. Mar. Vict. in the passage in which he is following Terent. mentions B only as a secondary caesura, 65, 30, K. Later (114, 17, K.), in discussing the tetrameter, he calls B the third incisio of the heroic hexameter, thus contradicting himself.²⁰ All the other metricians treat B as a caesura, but often indicate that it is not exactly like the others: it is characteristic rather of Greek pastoral poetry than of the heroic hexameter; it is 'ornatus causa addita' (Maximus Vict., 240, 9, K.); it is 'magis passio' (Priscian, 460, 14, K.), and finally, as will be shown later, it seems to have been regarded from the very beginning as a pause

¹⁸ Juba omits T (see above, p. 351), and Atil. Fort. 284, 25 f., K., fails to mention H and B.

¹⁹ Cf. Seymour, Trans. Amer. Philol. Assn. XVI (1885), 30 ff.

²⁰ He likewise errs in saying that Theocritus, with three or four exceptions, uses this caesura regularly. Clearly he had not read Theocritus, but is simply quoting, perhaps rather carelessly, from one of his sources.

in the sense to a very much greater extent than the other caesurae.

Our ancient sources differ widely in respect to the meaning of caesura. That it is ever regarded as marking the end of a rhythmical or musical *colon* is not entirely clear. The evidence is confined largely to what we have seen reason to believe was the second source of Arist. The latter belonged to the *rhythmici*, and while he treats of the *τομαί* in the metrical part of his treatise, the fact that he describes *τομή* as a *μόριον μέτρον* may indicate that he, or his source, felt the rhythmical, rather than the metrical, force of caesura, and that he was following the teaching of Aristoxenus that the *ποὺς μέγιστος* in the hexameter cannot contain more than sixteen *χρόνοι πρώτοι*. But his failure to give examples of the caesurae leaves us in doubt.²¹ Mar. Vict. likewise may refer to the rhythmical doctrine when he says (64, 32, K.) *incisiones etiam versuum, quas Graeci τομές vocant, ante omnia in hexametro heroico necessario observandae sunt* (omnis enim versus in duo cola formandus est).

By far the greater number of our ancient sources determine caesura solely by the ending of a word, without regard either to rhythmical theory or to the thought of the verse. The following represent the Latin metricians:

Atil. Fort. 284, 25, K., *optimus habetur, cuius prima caesura penthemimerim habet orationis parte finitam, ut*

arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris.

Frag. Sangall. (Gram. Lat. VI 638, 9), *penthemimeres est syllaba catalectica, quae post duos pedes conplet partem orationis. simili modo hephthemimeres est syllaba quae post tertium pedem partem orationis conplet, ut hic,*

arma virumque cano Troiae.

Frag. Wolfenbüttel (Gram. Lat. VI 645, 26), *penthemimeres caesura fit, quotiens post duos pedes syllaba remanens partem terminat orationis.*

Diomedes, 497, 11, K., *penthemimeres est semiquinaria, ubi post duos pedes et unam syllabam pars orationis expletur.*

Likewise all the Greek treatises after Arist., except the Great

²¹ There is no evidence whatsoever for the inference of Engelbrecht, op. cit., 298, that Arist. regarded *τομή* as having anything to do with a pause in sense.

Anonymus. These, some fourteen or fifteen in number, belong to the Byzantine age and are full of errors. Still, the fact that all agree in making a word-end the sole requisite for caesura, indicates that this was the earlier doctrine.²² The following is a specimen of the Byzantine treatise:—

Anon. Ambros. Q (Studemund, Anec. Var. I 158),²³ καὶ πενθήμερης δὲ λέγεται, ὅτι τῶν πέντε τὸ ἡμῶν ἔχει, τουτέστι δύο πόδας καὶ μίαν συλλαβήν, ὅλον

Ἄτρειδι, ποῖον.

ἑφθήμερης δὲ λέγεται, ὅταν μετὰ τοὺς τρεῖς πόδας εὐρεθῇ συλλαβὴ ἀπαρτίζουσα εἰς μέρος λόγου· καὶ λέγεται ἑφθήμερης ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμῶν, ὅλον

Ἄτρειδι, ποῖόν σε ἔπος.

κτλ., the same verse (Δ 350 — Ξ 83) being used to illustrate the four caesurae, P, H, T, B, even though this brings the masculine caesura before the enclitic σε. In a similar way the first verse of the Aeneid is used to illustrate P and H (by Maximus Victorinus) and B (by Marius Victorinus). This is good evidence that no pause in sense was thought necessary in order to have caesura.

The doctrine that caesura is a pause in the thought was much less widely held in ancient times. A consideration of the passages which support this view of caesura may help us to gain some idea of its origin. The first metrician who mentions a pause in sense as one of the requisites of caesura is Mar. Vict. (Aphthonius). In one of the two passages from which

²² Further evidence is found in Hephaestion XV 9 (52, 20, Conasbruch): δεῖ δὲ τὸ ἐλεγείων τέμνεσθαι πάντως καθ' ἕτερον (καθ' ἕκαστον, N; κατὰ πρότερον has been conjectured) τῶν πενθήμερων· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔσται πεπλημμελημένον, ὅλον τὸ Καλλιμάχου,

ἰερὰ, οὖν δὲ Διοσκουρίδω γενεή.

Τέμνεσθαι cannot refer to the end of a musical colon, for the vs. which he cites as example of a faulty elegiac might be divided rhythmically into two cola; nor can it refer to a pause in sense, for while a word ends with the penthemimeres, i. e., the first half of the verse, almost invariably, a pause in sense at this point is by no means the rule. Hence Hephaestion must mean that the elegiac verse must be 'cut' by a word-end after two and one-half feet—and it is but a short step from τέμνεσθαι to τομή. This is the interpretation of the scholiast: Διοσκουρίδω· ἡ γὰρ τομή τοῦ πρώτου πενθήμερου οὐκ ἀπῆρτισεν εἰς μέρος λόγου. λήγει γὰρ εἰς τὸ ΔΙΟΣ· τὸ δὲ ὅλον μέρος εἰς τὸ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΤΡΙΑΝ.

²³ This treatise follows the better tradition of the four *romai*.

citations have already been made (64, 31-66, 3; 114, 17-115, 4, K.), there is repeated reference to the completion of the thought. Unfortunately the verses which are used as illustrations contradict the statements and so detract greatly from their value. The two passages may be summarized as follows:—

(1) The penthemimeral is formed by a word-end; by doubling P we obtain the pentameter,²⁴ e. g.,

quam Juno fertur quam Juno fertur.

The second *τομή* is the hephthemimeral, quae tribus pedibus emensis adicit syllabam *completque sensum* quacumque orationis particula, e. g.,

Quam Juno fertur terris.

nam post tres pedes suprema RIS syllaba *sensum complet*. These are the principal *tomae*. But there are two others, for if you find neither P nor H, look for T, which is the penthemimeres with the addition of a syllable, e. g.,

Infandum, regina, (jubes renovare dolorem),

for GINA is a trochee in the third foot. BES autem syllaba et sensum superioris coli integrat, ut fiat hephthemimeres, et sequentis pedis initium inducit. [This statement is most unsatisfactory. After saying that T may be found in a verse in which neither P nor H occur, he cites as an example of T a verse in which he admits that the end of the first *colon* is found at H. Again, he says nothing of a pause in sense at T, where there is a slight pause in his example, but states that the sense of the hephthemimeral *colon* ending with 'jubes,' is complete, which is not true according to the normal interpretation of the words.] 4T (a rare caesura) is much like T. Every heroic hexameter must have one of these four caesurae (P, H, T, 4T). It sometimes happens that in the same verse will be found P, H, and B, e. g.,

Arma virumque cano Troiae qui primus ab oris.

nam IAE QUI, pes in verso quartus, eam divisionem [i. e., *διαίρεσις*—another indication that Marius is following one of the sources of Arist., but see note 17, p. 353] explicat, quam

²⁴ Note the closeness with which this statement follows that of Arist. (see above, p. 348).

bucolicen vocari dictum est, sub qua quattuor pedum *sensus impletur* [again there is no pause in sense where Marius says the sense is complete, i. e., at the bucolic diaeresis].

(2) In the second passage (114, 17 ff., K.) P and H are merely mentioned, while B is described at some length: *tertia est ea, quam βουκολικὴν appellant, quae quarto pede semper sensum claudente distinguitur ideoque a Graecis sic appellatur*, ut ante duos ultimos quarto pede terminet aut partem orationis *aut sensum*, quam legem per omne opus sui carminis Theocritus Syracusanus exceptis tribus aut quattuor ferme versibus custodit. The phrase *semper sensum claudente* in this passage suggests the possibility that a pause in the thought was first noticed at the bucolic diaeresis and later transferred to the doctrine of the other caesurae. Certainly Mar. Vict. is an eclectic, at least, for he regards caesura (1) as being determined by a word-end, (2) as being marked at least to a slight extent by a pause in sense and (3) as marking the end of a *colon* (cf. above, p. 355). The Wolfenbüttel treatise (Gram. Lat. VI 645) agrees with Mar. Vict. in giving us some reason to believe that B was determined by a pause in sense to a greater extent than any of the other caesurae, for while, according to this treatise, P, T and H are determined solely by the ending of a word, "*tetarte bucolicon*" fit, cum in quarta regione pars orationis *cum fine sensus* dactylo terminatur, his exemplis,

degeneres animos timor arguit, heu quibus ille,
nate, meae vires, mea magna potentia solus."

The only clear statement that caesura in general is determined solely by a distinct pause in the thought is found in the Great Anonymus (Studemund, Anec. Var. I 215, 23-216, 12). The date of this treatise is uncertain. Strähler calls attention to the rhetorical style and the use of *συναπολήγειν*, which is not found elsewhere before the time of Philostratus. It may be added that the writer is a Christian (p. 230, 9 f.). But although

* That is *βουκολικῶν*, according to some scholars. In view of the second example, however, which contains no B, but has a word-end in the exact middle of the verse, it seems probable that the unknown writer confused the bucolic diaeresis with the *βουκολικὸν ἔπος*. See the present writer's discussion of this term in C. P. XV 54-60.

the author must be placed perhaps as late as early Byzantine times, his exposition of the doctrine is the most consistent of all that have come down to us. The fourth trochaic is not mentioned; there is no ambiguity, or at most only a slight one (in the definition of T), and the examples are all, without exception, excellent. The only criticism which may be made is that H is mentioned before T. The whole passage is worth citing:

χρὴ δὲ ἡμᾶς μὴ μόνον τῆς ἀκριβείας τῶν μέτρων ἀντέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς καλουμένης ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τομῆς. τομὴ δὲ τῶν στίχων ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος ὃ δεικνύς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἔπους διάνοιαν στιγμὴν ἐπιτηδεύως λαμβάνουσιν. διαφορὰς δὲ ἔχει τέσσαρας ἡ τομὴ· ἐφθημιμερῇ τε καὶ πενθημιμερῇ καὶ τρίτον τροχαῖον καὶ τετάρτην βουκολικὴν.

ἐφθημιμερῆς μὲν καλεῖται τομὴ, ἥτις μετὰ τρεῖς πόδας καὶ συλλαβὴν τέλειον ἔχει τὸ νόημα, ὅλον

ὡς ἔφατ', ἔδδωκεν δ' ὁ γέρον, καὶ ἐπέθετο μῦθον.

ὃ ἐστιν τῶν ἐπτὰ τὸ ἥμισυ.

πενθημιμερῆς δὲ ἐστίν, ἥτις μετὰ δύο πόδας καὶ συλλαβὴν τέλειον ἔχει τὸ νόημα, ὅλον

ὡς ἔφατ' ἐχόμενος.

ὃ ἐστὶ τῶν πέντε τὸ ἥμισυ.

τρίτος δὲ τροχαῖός ἐστιν ἡ ἔχουσα τὸν πόδα τὸν τρίτον εἰς τροχαῖον συναπολήγοντα, ὅλον

ὡς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε.

τετάρτη δὲ ὑπάρχει βουκολικὴ ἡ ἔχουσα τὸ νόημα εἰς τέταρτον πόδα πάντως [cf. semper in the passage cited from Mar. Vict. above, p. 358] ἀπαρτιζόμενον, ὅλον

οὐρήας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπέχετο.

καὶ πάλιν

βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμπου καρήνων.

ταύτη δὲ τῇ τομῇ πάντες οἱ τὰ βουκολικὰ ποιήματα γράψαντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον²⁰ χρησάμενοι φαίνονται· ὅθεν καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν ἡ τομὴ ταύτην ἐδέξατο, ἀπὸ τῶν χρησαμένων τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβοῦσα.

It is clear that the doctrine of the metrical caesura (i. e. caesura as formed by the end of a word without reference to the sense) has no recognition in the Great Anonymus, with the

²⁰ Note the moderation of this statement in comparison with that of Mar. Vict. (see above, p. 354, note 20).

possible exception of the feminine caesura, where the omission of 'completion of the thought' seems to have been an oversight. And yet some modern metricians, e. g., Engelbrecht²⁷ and White,²⁸ while giving prominence to this definition of caesura, have so arranged their theory as to admit caesura where there is no real pause in the thought—certainly not sufficient for punctuation. This seems to be not only unjustifiable, but altogether unnecessary. The more probable solution of the conflict between the rhetorical and the metrical definitions of caesura seems to lie in supposing that there were two distinct doctrines, that the Anonymus represents a different source from that of most of the other metricians, and that he is almost alone in this, although we have seen possible indications of this source in Mar. Vict. and in the Wolfenbüttel treatise. We may even hazard a conjecture as to the origin of this new doctrine. It seems to have come partly from the observation that in the Greek bucolic poetry a pause in sense,²⁹ completion of the thought, anaphora, etc., are often found at the end of the fourth foot. This observation, be it noted, belongs not to metric, but to rhetoric. We have strong evidence that this view of caesura as a pause in the thought had its origin in the rhetorical (and possibly grammatical) studies in the early Greek hexameter poetry.

The first passage of importance is Dion. Hal., de comp. verb. chap. 26. *περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐμμελοῦς καὶ ἐμμέτρου συνθέσεως τῆς ἐχούσης πολλὴν ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὴν πεζὴν λέξιν τοιαῦτά τινα λέγειν ἔχω· ὡς πρώτη μὲν ἐστὶν αἰτία ἀνταῦθα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥστε ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμέτρου ποιητικῆς, ἢ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν ἀρμογῇ· δευτέρα δέ, ἢ τῶν κῶλων σύνθεσις· τρίτη δέ, ἢ τῶν περιόδων ἐμμετρία (συμμετρία, Roberts with M). τὸν δὲ βουλόμενον ἐν τοιούτῳ τῷ μέρει κατορθοῦν τὰ τῆς λέξεως μόρια, δεῖ πολυειδῶς στρέφειν τε καὶ συναρμώττειν, καὶ τὰ κῶλα ἐν διαστήμασι ποιεῖν συμμέτρως, μὴ συναπαρτιζόντα τοῖς στίχοις, ἀλλὰ διατέμνοντα τὸ μέτρον, ἄνισά τε ποιεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ ἀνόμοια· πολλάκις δὲ*

²⁷ Op. cit., 297; Engelbrecht thinks (without good reason, in the opinion of the present writer) that a pause in sense is indicated in Arist. (l. c.), in Ps. Draco, p. 126, and in the Tractatus Harleianus, p. 10.

²⁸ Op. cit., where considerable importance is attached to the definition given by the Great Anonymus.

²⁹ Cf. once more the use of *semper* in Mar. Vict., and of *πάντως* by the Great Anonymus, with reference to completion of the thought at B.

καὶ εἰς κόμματα συνάγειν βραχύτερα κώλων, τὰς τε περιόδους μήτε ἰσομεγέθεις μήτε ὁμοιοσχήμονας τὰς γοῦν παρακεμένους ;^α ἀλλήλαις ἐργάζεσθαι.

ὣν δὲ προϋθέμην τὰ παραδείγματα θεῖς, αὐτοῦ κατακλείσω τὸν λόγον. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐπικῆς ποιήσεως ταῦτ' ἀπόχρη (ξ 1-7).

αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἐκ λιμένος προσέβη τρηχεῖαν ἀταρπὸν·

ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο κῶλον. ἕτερον δὲ

χῶρον ἀν' ὑλήεντα·—

ἐλαττόν τε τοῦ προτέρου, καὶ δίχα τέ μνον τὸν στίχον. τρίτον δὲ τοῦτ'

—δι' ἄκριας·—

ἐλαττον κώλου κομμάτιον.

—ἦ οἱ Ἀθήνη

πέφραδε διοι ὑφορβόν—

ἐξ ἡμιστιχίων δύο συγκείμενον, καὶ τοῖς προτέροις οὐδὲν ἐοικός. ἔπειτα τὸ τελευταῖον·

—ὃ οἱ βιώτοιο μάλιστα

κῆδετο οἰκήων, οὐς κτήσατο δίος Ὀδυσσεύς·

ἀτελῇ μὲν τὸν τρίτον ποιοῦν στίχον, τοῦ δὲ τετάρτου τῇ προσθήκῃ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἀφηρημένον. ἔπειτ' αὖθις

τὸν δ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ προδόμφ' εὖρ' ἤμενον·

οὐ συνεκτρέχον οὐδὰ τοῦτο τῷ στίχῳ.

—ἐνθα οἱ αὐλῇ

ὑψηλῇ δέδμητο·—

ἀνισον καὶ τοῦτο τῷ προτέρῳ. καὶ πάλιν ὁ ἐξῆς νοῦς ἀπερίοδος ἐν κώλῳις τε καὶ κόμμασι λεγόμενος· ἐπιθεὶς γὰρ

—περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ·

πάλιν ἐποίησε

καλὴν τε μεγάλην τε—

βραχύτερον κώλου κομμάτιον. εἶτα

—περίδρομος—

ὄνομα καθ' ἑαυτὸ νοῦν τινα ἔχον. εἰθ' ἐξῆς τὰ ἄλλα τὸν αὐτὸν κατασκευάζει τρόπον. τί γὰρ δεῖ μηκύνειν τὸν λόγον;

In this passage we must notice two points, (1) that Dionysius calls attention to the divisions of the hexameter which are made by various short grammatical phrases and units of thought, and (2) that he actually refers twice (lines 9, 18, *διατέμνοντα τὸ μέτρον, τέμνον τὸν στίχον*) to the 'cutting' of the hexameter

into two sections by the grammatical *κῶλα* and *κόμματα*. It would be easy to apply this observation of Dionysius to the doctrine of the *τομαί* when that doctrine had been fully established, probably sometime during the following century. And this is just what happened, for Hermogenes, who lived about 150 years after Dion., treats the caesura and the pause in sense as of like effect in producing a variation of the rhythm (*περὶ ἰδεῶν*, p. 394, 18 Rabe) *ἐξίσταται γὰρ καὶ τοῦ οἰκείου πολλάκις τὸ μέτρον ῥυθμοῦ κατὰ τὰς ποικίλας τῶν στίχων τομὰς καὶ ἀναπαύσεις ἐννοίων κατὰ τὰ κῶλα. τὸ γούν*

(*ῥέων*·) αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλάττω τεύχε κίνεσσι

ἀναπαιστικόν πῶς ἔστιν, γενομένης ἀναπαύσεως ἐν τῷ 'ῥέων'. We cannot be absolutely certain that Hermogenes regarded *τομή* as a pause in sense, but the probabilities are that he did. The pause after *ῥέων* is not a *τομή*, for the triemineral caesura was not recognized as early as 150 A. D., but only an *ἀνάπαυσις ἐννοίας*, and Hermogenes gives no other illustration of the influence of *τομή* and pause in sense upon the rhythm. But at least we may conclude that in the use of 'caesura' and 'pause in sense' together a second step had been taken towards the establishment of the theory of the logical caesura.

While rhetoricians were noticing the *cola* and *commata*, the variety in their arrangement, and their effect upon the rhythm of the Homeric verse, the pauses in the thought of Homeric poetry were being examined from another point of view by Nicanor, the Punctuator (*ὁ Σηγματίας ἐπικληθεὶς*, Eustathius, 20, 12), a contemporary of Hadrian. No reference to caesura is found in any of the fragments which may be referred with certainty to Nicanor. The latter, however, notes the frequency of punctuation at the places where the metricians place the *τομαί*. Furthermore, there is a scholium (on A 356; Friedländer, Nicanor, 129) in which it is stated that *τομή* is rare after the *ἔβδομος χρόνος* (the first short syllable of the second foot). This mention of *ἔβδομος χρόνος* is a sure sign of Nicanor, or at least of his doctrine. Friedländer holds that the scholium cannot be the work of Nicanor, for the latter could not have meant that a caesura was rare at this point in the verse, since a word ends with the first short syllable of the second foot in 21 of the first 100 verses of the *Iliad*, and in 10 of the first 100

of the Odyssey. This reasoning is hardly sound, for—aside from the fact that Friedländer begs the question of what a caesura is—no *τομή* was recognized, as we have seen, in the first two feet of the verse, at least, as early as Nicanor. Rauscher (de scholiis Homericis ad rem metricam pertinentibus, Strassburg, 1886, 30 f.) assigns the statement to Nicanor, but emends by reading *στιγμή* for *τομή*, since punctuation, although found with varying degrees of frequency elsewhere in the first two feet of the hexameter, is in fact rare after the second trochee.³⁰ This emendation is unnecessary. The inference is rather that by the time of the scholiast caesura had come to mean, at least among the rhetorical writers, a pause in sense sufficient for punctuation. The scholium cannot belong to Nicanor, for the doctrine that *any* pause in the thought within the verse of Homer is a *τομή* is very late: Joannes Sic., Rhet. Graec. VI 488, Walz, αἱ μὲν οὖν ὀνομασταὶ τομαὶ καὶ γνώριμοι τοσαῦται καὶ αὐται. αἱ δὲ ἀφανεῖς καὶ γανθάνουσαι καὶ ποιῶσαι δοκεῖν τὰ μέτρα πέλδ καὶ διάφορα τῷ ἔδει πάμπολλαι· ἐν αἷς γὰρ ἀπαρτίζεται τις ἔννοια καθ' ἑαυτήν, τομαὶ αὐταὶ λέγοντο ἂν εἰκότως.

We may now venture a theory of the origin and development of the doctrine of caesura in ancient times. We have good reason for believing that it arose sometime between the age of Augustus, when it was not known, and that of the Antonines, when it was fully established, that is, it was probably formulated during the first century of the Christian era. We may take it for granted that it originated among the Greek, rather than among the Latin, metricians in view of the nomenclature, *fome*, *bucolice*, *penthemimeres*, etc. If we try to find a Greek metrician who, if not the originator, may at least be regarded with some probability as the sponsor, of the doctrine, three names at once suggest themselves, Philoxenus, Hephaestion and Heliodorus. Of these the first may be discarded at once for lack of evidence. Apparently he had less influence upon later metricians than either of the other two.³¹ Hephaestion, who is thought to have lived about the time of the Antonines, is too late, for Hermogenes refers to the doctrine as if it were already fully established. There remains Heliodorus. He is called

³⁰ Cf. also Rossbach-Westphal, *Metrik*,* 64 f.

³¹ Gleditsch, *Metrik*,* 71.

μετρικός by Suidas, and is characterized by Mar. Vict.³² as "inter Graecos huiusce artis antistes aut primus aut solus." Gleditsch assigns the floruit of Heliodorus to about the time of Hadrian. But this is probably too late, for, as Hense has shown,³³ Irenaeus (Minucius Pacatus), a pupil of Heliodorus, is cited in the Hippocratic glossary of Erotian, who lived at the end of the first century. This would make the floruit of Heliodorus about the middle of the first century, A. D.,³⁴ which is exactly the time at which the doctrine of caesura is likely to have arisen. A further reason for thinking that the original sponsor for the doctrine was Heliodorus is the fact that he was especially interested in colometry, and wrote a famous colometric edition of Aristophanes.³⁵ This interest in the *cola* of melic verse might easily have led him to notice, in his work on metric, the *cola* of the hexameter. There is evidence that something like this may have been the case. Hephaestion, in discussing the dactylic meter (Enchiridion, VII), mentions among its various forms πενθημμερής, ἐφθημμερής and τετράμετρον (ἀκατάληκτον), and these were the terms, as we have seen, which were regularly applied to the caesurae, P, H, and B. Again, we notice that some of the early metricians regarded τομή as a part of the verse (μόριον, incisum). Finally, Arist., in his description of the caesurae, uses language which in some respects suggests that of Hephaestion when the latter is describing the shorter dactylic meters.³⁶

³² 94, 7, K.: see Gleditsch, l. c.

³³ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa VIII 28 f.

³⁴ It cannot have been much earlier, for Heliodorus himself refers to Seleucus Grammaticus, who lived in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius (Hense, in Pauly-Wissowa VIII 28 f., who refers to Leo, Hermes XXIV (1889), 284).

³⁵ Hense, Heliodorische Untersuchungen, 1879; White, op. cit., 384 ff.

³⁶ Hephaestion, Aristides, 51 f., M.

τῶν δὲ εἰς συλλαβὴν τῷ μὲν
πενθημμερεὶ πρὸς δύο ποσὶν οὐδῶν
τῶν συλλαβῶν Ἀρχιδόχος κτχρηται
(Cap. vii).

τῇ δὲ ἐφθημμερεὶ Ἀλκιμάν (ibid).
δεῖ δὲ τὸ ἐλεγείων τέμνεσθαι
πάντως καθ' ἕτερον τῶν πενθημμερῶν
(Cap. xv, 8).

πρώτη μὲν (sc. τομή) ἢ μετὰ δύο πόδας
εἰς συλλαβήν.

τρίτη δὲ μετὰ τρεῖς εἰς συλλαβήν.
ἢ (= πενθημμερὲς τομή) καὶ διπλασιαζο-
μένη ποιεῖ τὸ ἐλεγείων.

The suggestion that the doctrine of caesura may have been formulated first by Heliodorus of course admits of no proof, and after all is of slight importance in comparison with the question of the signification of caesura in the ancient metric. This may be summarized as follows:

(1) At first the caesurae were parts of the hexameter, not the ends of parts.

(2) These parts were made to correspond to recognized dactylic measures, the shortest of which was the trimeter catalectic ending in one syllable (= the *πενθημιμέτρης* of Hephaestion VII).⁵⁷

(3) In applying this doctrine the frequency of T was noticed, and a new *τομή* was added. This did not correspond to a recognized dactylic measure, and perhaps for this reason seems to have been regarded quite generally as of somewhat less importance than either P or H.

(4) Some time before Aristides, the so-called bucolic diaeresis was discarded by some unknown metrician. As tradition required four caesurae—or for some other reason—the fourth trochaic caesura was substituted. It is not supported by the facts of Homeric versification, but corresponds to a dactylic measure, for Hephaestion (VII) tells us that the dactylic tetrameter catalectic ending in two syllables was employed by Archilochus.

(5) The caesura came into prominence by reason of its analogy to the metrical units which are found within the hexameter, but later, as the doctrine was passed on from one metrician to another, it came to mean, not a part of the verse, but the ending of a word within the third or fourth foot, or else at the end of the fourth foot. Whether caesura was felt to be a real pause greater than at the end of a word in any other place in the verse will be discussed later (p. 368). At all events *ancient metricians who do not regard a pause in the thought as essential to caesura never call a caesura a pause.*

(6) Caesura as a pause in sense does not belong to the earlier doctrine. It arose largely, if not solely, from the grammatical

⁵⁷ The Adonius is not recognized as a verse by Hephaestion, and, moreover, a word-end after the second foot of the hexameter is avoided. That the triemimeral received no consideration is explained by the fact that the dactylic dimeter catalectic is not found as a distinct verse.

and rhetorical study of Homer, and was not incorporated into the metrical doctrine until later.

It remains to examine the ancient sources with reference to the effect of caesura upon the rhythm of the verse. Unfortunately, the evidence—which agrees with the facts of versification in all languages belonging to the same branch as the Greek and Latin, although not with all theories of caesura—is late, fragmentary and far from clear. We may distinguish two theories:

(1) The caesura produces a change in the rhythm, e. g., from dactylic to anapaestic.²⁸ This theory is found only in Hermogenes, in two passages of his work,

καὶ μέτρων διαφόρους τομὰς, ἐξ ὧν καὶ διάφορά πως συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὰ μέτρα καὶ ταῦτα ἐν δέοντι καὶ κατὰ λόγον μεταβαλλόμενα (390, Rabe).

ἐξίσταται γὰρ τοῦ οἰκείου πολλάκις τὸ μέτρον ῥυθμοῦ κατὰ τὰς ποιάς τῶν στίχων τομὰς καὶ ἀναπαύσεις ἐννοῶν κατὰ τὰ κῶλα (394, Rabe).

(2) Caesura makes the verse 'lighter,' that is, less like prose, by avoiding the monotonous coincidence of word-ends and metrical feet: Priscian, Gram. Lat. III 460, 16, caesurae vero cursum et rhythmum leviores solent facere, et necesse est vel unam vel duas caesuras in versu inveniri. nam tres rarissime possunt in eodem versu esse. The bearing of the second part of this statement is important, for if two, and sometimes three, of the four recognized caesurae may be found in the same verse, caesura cannot be a distinct pause in the thought. Priscian is not alone in admitting more than a single caesura in the same verse. We have seen that Mar. Vict. allows P, H, and B in one verse, and that in a Byzantine treatise P, T, H and B are all illustrated by a single example.²⁹ To these passages we may add one from Diomedes (498, 15 ff. K.), hae incisiones, quas Graeci tomas appellant, figuris formantur tribus, simplici composita conjuncta. simplex est cum invenitur una incisio, ut est

panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi—P.

composita cum duae inveniuntur, ut est

²⁸ Cf. Seymour, *Homeric Language and Verse*, 86.

²⁹ Pp. 357, 356.

infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem—T. and H.
conjuncta⁴⁰ cum tres inveniuntur,⁴¹ ut est

talibus Ilioneus, cuncti simul ore fremebant—P, H and B.

The 'lightening of the rhythm' by conflict between word and metrical foot was thought to be more necessary in the middle of the verse than towards the beginning or the end: Aul. Gell., XVIII 15, in longis versibus, qui 'hexametri' vocantur, item in senariis, animadverterunt metrici primos duos pedes, item extremos duos, habere singulos posse integras partes orationis, medios haut umquam posse, sed constare eos semper ex verbis aut divisis aut mixtis atque confusis (then follows the observation of Varro, cited above, p. 348, note 7).

These passages and the description of the various caesurae

* A slightly different definition of the *figura conjuncta* is found in the catechetical fragment *de metris et de hexametro heroico* of a certain Victorinus, who is to be distinguished alike from Mar. Vict. and from Max. Vict. (Gram. Lat. VI 214, 23; cf. Beda, Gram. Lat. VII 245, 17): Quot sunt species in caesura hexametri versus? Quattuor. Quae sunt? Conjunctus districtus mixtus divisus. Conjunctus qui est? Qui in scandendo ita concatenatus est sibi, ut nusquam finito sensu divisa inter se verba ponantur, quod genus versificationis laudabile habetur, ac melius, ut puta veluti est

infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem,

that is, the sense must not be complete at any point in the verse, and the words must be so placed as not to end with any of the metrical feet. This definition, when taken in connection with the passage from Diomedes and with a statement of Priscian in the passage from which citation has just been made, contains the only justification which is to be found in our ancient sources for the theory that caesura is, as some modern scholars hold, the cutting of any foot by a word-end. The words of Priscian are as follows: quarta enim (caesura) bucolica, sicut hemiepes et quarta trochaica et quae inveniuntur per singulos pedes.

* The ancient statements that more than one caesura may be found in the same verse have given rise in modern times to the controversy over the position of the 'main caesura' (e. g. Masqueray, op. cit., 48-50), and to the arbitrary and confusing terms which are used, especially by German scholars, to describe 'main' and 'subordinate' caesurae: 'podic' and 'rhythmic' (Munk); 'primariae' and 'ordinariae' (Koechly); 'maiores' and 'minores' (Ströhler); 'Versabschnitt' and 'Verseinschnitt' (Lehrs and Engelbrecht); 'Hauptcäsur,' 'Nebencäsur' and 'Ersatzcäsur' (Meyer), etc. It may be added that the terms 'masculine' and 'feminine' as applied to caesura have no ancient authority.

which have been quoted in the discussion of the ancient doctrine of the metrical caesura (p. 355), seem to show that the ancient *metricians* regarded caesura, not as a pause, but as a conflict between word and foot in certain preferred places in the verse. This is put beyond reasonable doubt by a passage in Eustathius (ad Iliad., IX 122, p. 740, 1 ff.) :

ἔπ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
αἶθωνας δὲ λέβητας εἴκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἱππους.

τούτων δὲ τῶν στίχων ἑκατέρου ἢ εἰς δύο ἐννοίας τομὴ οὐ πάνυ μετρικῶς ἔχειν δοκεῖ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, οἳ φασιν ὅτι τὸ μέτρον χαίρει μὲν συνδεσμεῖσθαι τοὺς πόδας ἀλλήλοις, ὥς κατὰ μηδὲν εἰς μέρος ἀπαρτίζειν λόγου, οἷον

Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσε.

παρατεῖται δὲ ὡς περ τὸ κατὰ πόδα τέμνεσθαι, οἷον

ὄβριος εἵνεκα τῆσδε, σὺ δ' ἰσχεο, πείθεο δ' ἡμῖν.

οὕτω καὶ τὴν δίχα τομὴν ἔγουν τὴν εἰς δύο ἐννοίας, ὥς τὸ

ἐνθ' οὗτ' Ἰδομενεὺς τλῆ μίμνειν, οὗτ' Ἀγαμέμνων.

οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὴν τριχῇ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον διαίρεσιν. ῥυθμικὰ γάρ φασιν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ μετρικὰ. οὐκοῦν καὶ τὰ ῥηθέντα δύο ἔπη ῥυθμικώτερον διάκειται. "The early metricians admired the verse in which there was conflict throughout between words and metrical feet,⁴² and disliked equally the absence of conflict and a pause in the thought which divides the verse into two or three equal parts. This division, they asserted, is a matter of 'rhythm' rather than of meter. Hence verses like Iliad IX 122 f., which contain one or more pauses in sense, are better 'rhythmically' than 'metrically.'" If the sharp distinction between ῥυθμικά and μετρικά correctly preserves the tradition of the παλαιοὶ μετρικοί, we must conclude that the *τομή* of the metricians was in no sense a pause, and further, that the only pauses which were made in the oral rendering of the Homeric poems, at least during the early centuries of the Christian era, were those which were required by the meaning of the words, and which were natural in giving proper attention to the expression of the thought of the poet.

⁴² Cf. Mar. Vict. 71, 3, K., *metrorum fere omnium natura talis est, ut caveant ne singulas partes orationis singulorum pedum fine concludant, sed potius ut verba vel nomina ex residua sui parte sequentibus pedibus adnectant, quo pacto evenit* vocum integer pes esse, sed sane ut perfectae parti orationis de sequenti sermone aliquid accedat, nec umquam facile cum fine pedis pars orationis impleatur.*

Whether this holds true for the earlier recitation of the Homeric poems is a question which is more difficult to answer. Some of the points in the problem which this question presents have already been touched upon, and a fuller discussion of them, and of others, is impossible in this paper. They do not seem to the present writer to be of sufficient weight to justify us in believing that caesura, even if it had been recognized in the fifth century B. C., for example, and even earlier, after the poems had ceased to be sung, would have had any other significance than it had in the doctrine of the *μετρικοί*.

This conclusion, to which the writer has been led by a careful study of the sources, in spite of a preconceived notion of caesura as nothing but a pause in thought, does not prevent us from making a pause at a caesura, nor from dividing the verse into two *cola* by such a pause. But it does make the converse impossible. For if caesura is not a pause, but only a conflict between the words and the metrical feet, *we have no right to make a pause in the third or the fourth foot of the hexameter unless this pause is justified by the thought of the poet*. Still less can we mark the end of a rhythmical *colon* always (with Lehrs), or whenever a word-end occurs (Masqueray and others) after the first or second syllable of the third foot. But we must guard against the assumption that adherence to the theory of caesura as a matter of metrical conflict nullifies the value of the studies which have been made in the relation between the caesurae and Homeric language, versification, relation of thought to the parts of the verse, and the kind of words which are most frequently found or avoided before and after caesurae. The results of such studies, which are of the greatest value for the appreciation of the poet's technique, are as valid as ever. The only modification which is necessary is in the terms in which the reasons for these results are expressed.

The writer is far from claiming to have removed all the difficulties from the complicated problem which is presented by the doctrine of the Homeric caesura. But these principles seem to have been more or less clearly established by the foregoing discussion:

1. Caesura was not recognized in the classic period of Greek literature.

2. Rhythmical caesura, i. e., a pause or hold which marks the end of the first of two rhythmical or musical *cola* without regard to the sense, is not supported by evidence which is sufficient to justify us in making such a pause or hold in the oral rendering of the Homeric poems.

3. Logical caesura, or a pause in sense at certain preferred places in the verse, is not caesura at all according to the most widely accepted meaning of the term in ancient times. It was a misapplication of the term which was due to the rhetoricians.

4. Caesura belongs to the purely metrical doctrine, *and does not mean a pause.*

We may put the results of our study more briefly by saying that we have rejected the doctrine of the rhythmical caesura as unsupported by the evidence; that we do not call a pause in sense 'caesura,' and that caesura is merely a matter of word-ends, and does not imply a pause. This position requires further elucidation. According to it, caesura is a metrical phenomenon, and in its widest application (which the ancients did not fully recognize, because the doctrine arose from the observation that certain shorter verses were contained within the hexameter) constitutes one of the two fundamental principles of structure which distinguish recitative poetry from prose.⁴⁸ Both of these principles have to do with the opposition which exists in poetry between law or sameness on the one hand, and freedom or variety on the other—the eternal conflict between the one and the many, the former being represented by the metrical or the rhythmical scheme, the latter by the words of the poem. In the heroic hexameter, which, unlike melic meters, is never used together with other measures, the monotony which would result from the constant repetition of precisely the same scheme is partly avoided by the interchange of dactyls and spondees in the 32 *σχήματα*, but the underlying framework of the verse is as rigid as that of the Doric temple. Upon this frame must be arranged the words which represent the poet's thought. The simplest arrangement which immediately suggests itself, is that in which the grammatical sentence or clause exactly fills the

⁴⁸ Cf. Charlton A. Lewis, *The Principles of English Verse*, 1906, to which the writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness for valuable suggestions. See also Sidney Colvin, *Keats* (in *Morley's Makers of Literature*), chap. II.

verse and has no break in the thought, and the words of the sentence fill each a metrical foot. But this is impracticable because of the nature of the language and the modes of thought; it is likewise not poetry, for it lacks the important element of art, or adaptation to the underlying form. Hence arise the two principles (1) of variation from the rhythmical norm, and (2) of conflict between the words and the metrical feet. The first of these principles has nothing to do with the meter, that is, with the arrangement of the syllables in feet, but rather with the rhythm of the verse, which depends on the length of the time intervals. The rhythmical norm of the hexameter consists of six equal groups of four *χρόνοι πρώτοι* each, and rhythmical variety is obtained by pauses or holds. In music these are either of definite length, which may be indicated by arbitrary signs, or else they are unmeasurable departures from the precise rhythm which are due to what is called expression or phrasing. In recitative poetry a similar variation results from making a grammatical *colon* or *comma* or still shorter phrase end at some place other than the close of the verse, and from the use of that emotional element of the spoken language which we call emphasis. This rhythmical variety is concerned with the poet's thought and with the meaning of the words, rather than with their form. But the words themselves, aside from the meaning which they convey, offer the opportunity for variety of a different kind, which is the result, as has been intimated, of a conflict between their length and position in the verse, and the six schematic feet which form the underlying framework of the hexameter. In the series between perfect agreement with this metrical scheme and absolute disagreement there are an endless number of partial agreements and partial conflicts. This principle of conflict or agreement was embraced under the broad term 'caesura' as used by Priscian, and 'ρομή' of the ancient metricians whom Eustathius cites. But 'caesura' as a technical term of the great majority of ancient writers whose works have come down to us, denoted the positions in the verse, after the first two feet,⁴⁴ in which metrical conflict (or agreement) was most desired.

⁴⁴ The reason for the failure of the metricians to notice caesura in the first two feet has been indicated above (p. 365, note 37). This is of course an entirely different question from the one which concerns the

It has often been said that the perfection of art consists in a balance between two opposing principles of law and freedom, or of sameness and variety. In the Homeric verse, as we have said, the principle of sameness is represented by the underlying scheme of the single measure which is employed. The principle of variety is illustrated by the σχήματα; by the choice of very long or very short words in sequence; by the occurrence of word-ends in all possible places within the verse, with a single exception,⁴⁸ and, finally, by the freedom with which the thought not only at times disregards the natural place for a pause, which is at the end of the verse, but is also complete at so many points within the verse. The fixed scheme, which represents the principle of law, is never forgotten, but with the love of freedom which is native in the Ionian artist, the Homeric poet inclines a little towards the side of variety, thereby adding to the beauty of his poetry. Those who would always make a pause at the 'caesura' of the third (or fourth) foot, overlook this important characteristic of Homeric verse. Yet a comparison of Homer with the later epic poets by means of stylometric tests which have to do with the adaptation of words and thought to the metrical scheme shows that it is Homer who is the lover of freedom, and that the later poets tend to abandon somewhat the principle of variety, and to restrict the possibilities of deviation from the fixed underlying scheme. In ancient times the superiority of Homer in this respect was recognized by Hermogenes, and is put most clearly with reference to the caesurae and the pauses in sense by his commentator, Joannes Siceliotes (498, Walz). The commentator confused caesura with the pause in the sense, calling *τομή* now a word-end, later, a pause in the thought, and still again a pause sufficient for punctuation, but he is clear in his conclusion: *καὶ διὰ οὖν τὰς διαφορὰς τομὰς ἀριστος ποιητῶν Ὅμηρος*.

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poet's reason for desiring or avoiding conflict or agreement in this or in any other part of the verse.

⁴⁸ The 'fourth trochaic' caesura, where a word-end is found so rarely that it may be said to have been forbidden.

II. VERBALS IN -TOR, -AX, -DUS, AND -NS.

The following paper deals with words formed on verb stems and having the termination -tor, -ax, -dus, or -ns. The material is taken from Plautus, excluding the fragments. I have tried to collect every example of every word in -tor and in -ax, and every verbal in -dus and in -ns, but not every example of every word. Of verbals in -tor I have examined 119, including 324 examples; in -trix, 28, including 59 examples; in -ax (counting dicax and maledicax as 1), 14, including 52 examples; in -dus, 27, including 110 examples; in -ns, 132, including 647 examples. The collections have been made from Lodge's Index as far as possible, and from Naudet's for the remainder of the work; every example has been checked by reference to the Goetz-Schoell text, and no readings have been admitted without its authority.¹

Morphologically the four classes have in common the fact that they are formed on verb stems. Words in -tor are thought of as nouns, in -ax and -dus as adjectives, in -ns as participles; some of the latter are of course classified as nouns or adjectives. I shall not here attempt to set up a criterion of noun, adjective, or participle; but it should be borne in mind that -tor and -trix, when used on the same stem, form a declension of two terminations; that -ax and -ns words have in the singular no distinction

¹ Rassow, *De Plauti Substantivis*, Leipzig, 1881, pp. 26-8, enumerates 125 words in -tor, and 33 in -trix. My collection includes 129 in -tor, and 32 in -trix. Ten of the -tor nouns and 8 of the -trix nouns are formed on noun stems. In the Goetz-Schoell text I have found the following nouns not mentioned by Rassow: *advorsitor*, *clamator*, *faenerator*, *grallator*, *gubernator*, *iaculator*, *infector*, *obsidiator*, *subsentator*, *superatrix* (Mer. 842, reading not certain); and have been unable to find *caulator*, *circumductor*, *perforator*, *veterator*, *restitrix*. I have omitted *cicatrix* (see G. S. text, *Asin.* 522).

Stolz (*Hist. Lat. Gram.* I, p. 550, § 207), finds in Plautus 13 -tor words formed on noun stems. I should prefer to class *lictor*, *obsonator*, and *quadruplator* as verbals. Walde relates *lictor* to *ligo*. He discusses neither *obsonator* nor *quadruplator*, but *obsonare* is found several times in Plautus, and *quadruplari* once (*Per.* 62).

in gender, and in the plural no distinction between masculine and feminine; that -*dus* words have gender distinction throughout; that -*tor* / -*trix* words are not compared, though -*dus*, -*ns* and -*ax* words are; but in Plautus only two of the latter, *audax* and *mendax*.

Of the 28 -*trix* words, 10 are found in the corresponding -*tor* form, viz., *acceptor/trix*, *adjutor/trix*, *advorsitor/advorsatrix*, *amator/trix*, *cantor/trix*, *conjector/trix*, *dictator/trix*, *orator/trix*, *tonsor/tonstrix*, *victor/trix*.² *Ambestrix* is a sort of feminine of *pransor*, but differs in its emotional ingredient; *prae-cantrix* (Mi. 693) has some force in its prefix; *persuastrix* seems to differ from *suasor* only in gender.

²Probus, p. 1452 P says: Et hoc tamen scire debemus, quod appellativa or terminata, si tracta fuerint a verbo, genus femininum trix terminant, ultor, ultrix, ulcisor, praeceptor, praeceptrix, praecipio. Auctor, si sit tractum a verbo augeo, auctrix facit; si non venit a verbo, sed significat principem quod nomen non venit a verbo, et feminino genere auctor facit, sicut Vergilius ex persona Iunonis 'auctor ego audendi,' princeps, non quae augeam; nam auctrix diceret. Sed excipitur unum, quod, quamvis non veniat a verbo, tamen feminino genere trix facit balneatrix. Nam defenstrix rationabiliter debet dici, nisi quoniam male sonat. Et nonnunquam, quamvis veniat a verbo, tamen feminino or facit. Memini, hic et haec memor. Whereupon Servius, Aen. XII 159, *auctor ego audendi*, nomina in *tor* exeuntia feminina ex se faciunt, quae (in) *trix* terminantur, si tamen a verbo veniant, ut ab eo quod est *lego* et *lector* et *lectrix* facit; *docceo*, *doctor*, *doctrix*. Si autem a verbo non venerint, communia sunt. Nam similiter et masculina et feminina in *tor* exeunt, ut *hic* et *haec* senator, *hic* et *haec* balneator. Licet Petronius usurpaverit, *balneatricem* dicens. Tale est et *hic* et *haec* auctor. Sed tunc cum ab *auctoritate* descendit, ut hoc loco. Cum autem venit ab eo quod est *augeo*, et *auctor* et *auctrix* facit, ut si dicas, *auctor divitiarum*, vel *auctrix patrimonii*.

The earliest use of *auctor* applied to women is Plautus, St. 129, Mi auctores ita sunt amici, ut vos hinc abducam domum. / At enim nos quarum res agitur aliter auctores sumus. The word is applied to things first in Tri. 107, Id ita esse ut credas, rem tibi auctorem dabo. *Auctrix* is post-classical. Words derived from nouns do show a difference in -*tor* / -*trix* termination in Plautus: *ianitor/trix*, *praestigator/trix*. Probus suggests an interesting question. If *defenstrix* might be used except for the sound, how far can it be inferred that words were altered on account of cacophony? Also, the fact that Servius thought of *auctor* as being derived from *auctoritas* leads to the consideration that for semantic purposes it may make no difference whether a noun is derived from a verb or vice versa: *amator* : *amare* :: *audax* ; *audere* :: *servus* : *servire* :: *comes* : *comitare*.

It is perhaps worth noting here that the -tor/-trix ending, if attached to a noun stem, will be more readily defined with some exactness than if attached to a verb stem. In amator, mercator, -tor cannot be more closely defined than as denoting a tendency on the part of the person indicated to perform, or a habit of performing, the action indicated by the verb stem. In ianitor, -tor might very well be rendered as a keeper; in virgator, as wielder. Some others are harder to define; -tor in portitor really carries the idea of a collector of dues. Lectisterniator is an interesting example in which the verbal force of the second part of the compound noun lectisternium limits the meaning of -tor. The word comes to the same thing as *sterniator lecti.

Not many present participles of those verbs from which -tor nouns are formed can be found in Plautus. The examples which I have found are: adventor/adveniens, amator(trix)/amans, ambestrix/edens, auditor/audiens (in every instance used with dicto or imperio), cursor/currens, gestor/gerens, meretrix/merens, potator/potans, precator/precans, screator/screans, spectator/spectans. Cantor is found, but not canens; cantans, but not cantator; so dormitator, but not dormitans; dormiens, but not dormitor.

Preston says that 'adventor' is used by the meretrix of her customers.* There are, in fact, only three instances of adventor in Plautus: As. 359, Quomodo argento intervortam et adventorem et Sauream; Tru. 96, Nequis adventor gravior abaetat quam adveniat; ibid. 616, Si aequom facias, adventores meos non incuses. In the third example, adventor has the meaning 'customer'; in the second it is probably spoken of customers, but not necessarily; in the first it has nothing to do with a meretrix. Adveniens seems to have nowhere this technical meaning, though advenire has. It is, however, used as a noun. With Tru. 96 cf. Ba. 538, Numquae advenienti aegritudo obiectast?; Cap. 914, Adveniens totum deturbavit cum carne carnarium. In these examples adveniens has practically the force of adventor in Tru. 96. Contrast with these examples Curc. 338, Aggredior hominem, saluto adveniens; Rud. 1275,

* Studies in the Diction of the *Sermo Amatorius* in Roman Comedy, Chicago, 1916, p. 16: 'The public of the meretrix (*τραίπα*), those who resorted to her regularly, is commonly referred to as her 'adventores,' 'customers,' and the verb in ordinary use is 'advenire.'

Etiamne eam adveniēns salutem? Here *adveniēns* has the semantic value of an independent clause: 'I go up to the man and greet him.' 'Shall I go and greet her?' The conclusion to be drawn concerning *adventor* and *adveniēns* is that *adveniēns* was more fluid than *adventor*, could cover the latter's ground and more; and that *adventor* functions as a sort of specialized *adveniēns*. The need of *adventor* could not have been strongly felt, since *Plautus* used it only three times, though he uses *adveniēns* 47 times.

'*Amator*' and '*amans*' are used without distinction. Compare *Mi.* 625, *Umbra's amantum magis quam amator, Pleusicles*; *As.* 814, *Praeripias scortum amanti et argentum obicias*; *Tru.* 46, *Si iratum scortum fortēst amatori suo*; *Asin.* 177/8, *Quae amanti parcet, eadem sibi parcet parum.* / *Quasi piecis itidemst amator lenae; nequamst nisi recens*; *Ba.* 193, *Animast amica amanti; si abest, nullus est*; *Ps.* 673, *Hic amica amanti erili filio*; *Tru.* 239, *Nam ecastor numquam satis dedit suae quisquam amicae amator*; *As.* 758, *Aut quod illa amica *amatorem praedicet*; *Tru.* 228, *Numquam amatoris meretricem oportet causam noscere*; *Mo.* 286, *Nam amator meretricis mores sibi emit.* Lodge gives three instances in which *amicus* is used with the meaning of *amator*: *Mi.* 391, *Quom illa ausculata mea soror gemina esset suompte amicum*; *St.* 766, *Stantem stanti savium/dare amicum amicae*.⁴ *Amatrix* occurs twice in *Plautus*: *As.* 511, *Satis dicacula's amatrix*; *Po.* 1304, *Sed adire certumst hanc amatricem Africam.* There is only one occurrence of *amata* in *Plautus*, and there clearly as a participle: *Mo.* 200, *Nilo ego quam nunc tu amata sum, atque uni modo gessi morem.* There is no instance of *amatus*.⁵

⁴In Lodge's third example (*Ps.* 1263, the text is unsound, and see *Tru.* 171, *Ego fateor sed longe aliter est amicus atque amator*).

⁵These specimens of the erotic vocabulary of *Plautus* furnish a good example of the haphazard way in which language develops. *Amans* is used of both sexes: *Ps.* 1259, *Nam ubi amans complexust amantem*; *Ba.* 208, *Misera amans desiderat*; *As.* 591, *Quia tui amans abeuntis egeo*; *id.* 665, *ne nos diiunge amanti.* In these instances it is feminine except that one *amans* (*Ps.* 1259) and one *amantes* (*As.* 665) are masculine. In the majority of instances, however, it is masculine. When masculine it may be contrasted with feminine *amans*, *amica*, *scortum*, *meretrix*. *Amator* is always masculine, and contrasted with feminine *amica*, *scortum*, *meretrix*. I have not found *amans/meretrix*

Ambestrix is found Cas. 778, *Novi ego illas amb[as]estrices: corbitam cibi / Comesse possunt*. *Edens* occurs Cu. 186, *Irascere si te edentem hic a cibo abigat*. The difference in form between these two words is that (beside formal difference of number and case) the former has a prefix and a termination regarded as distinctively feminine. The semantic differences are that *edens* here refers to one as actually eating while *ambestrices* refers to the people as greedy; and consequently in addition the latter has an unpleasant emotional ingredient that the former lacks.

Auditor occurs only once: Ps. 429, *Si meo arbitratu liceat omnes pendeant Gestores linguis, auditores auribus*. Both *auditor* and *audiens* have specialized meanings; *auditor* in the foregoing passage means an 'eavesdropper'; *audiens* in Plautus means 'obedient.' *Auditor* has here an unpleasant emotional ingredient. *Audiens* is always part of a frozen phrase, and has the idea of carrying out the command as well as hearing it. It (*audiens*) occurs six times with *dicto*, once with *dicto imperio*, once with *imperiis*.

Seven instances of *currens* occur, three of *cursor*; two of the former and one of the latter in starred verses. In Mer. 123, *Genua hunc cursorem deserunt*, '*cursorem*' is spoken by one who has just been running, and may be compared with Mer. 598, *Sed isneest quem currentem video?* It functions much as a present perfect participle active. In Po. 545/6 *Siquid tu placide otioseque agere vis, operam damus: / Si properas cursores meliust te advocatos ducere*, the point may be 'advocates who can run,' though it probably is 'runners as advocates.'

Gestor occurs only once in Plautus, Ps. 429. It means talebearer. *Gerens* occurs Tru. 145, *Plerique idem quod tu facis faciunt rei male gerentis*, and *ibid.* 223, *Piaculumst miserere nos hominum rei male gerentum*, in each instance modified by *male* and governing a genitive.

Meretrix is a definitely specialized word, and *merens* never

or *amator/amans* contrasted. *Amicus*, which has a non-erotic meaning almost always, is twice used as equivalent of *amator* or *amans*. *Amatrix* occurs twice. *Amica* has a specialized, erotic meaning. Such general terms as *adulescens* and *mulier* are sometimes used in an erotic context as practically equivalent to *amator* or *amica*.

approaches it in meaning. There are eight occurrences of *merens* in Plautus, in each instance with *bene* or *male*.

Potator occurs once: *Men.* 259, *Voluptarii atque potatores maxumei: / Tum sycophantae et palpatores plurumei.* Here *-tor* in *potator* is practically the equivalent of *-arius* in *voluptarius*; in each instance the semantic content of the termination is 'addicted to.' *Potans* occurs twice: *Cu.* 124, *Nam tibi amantes, propitiantes, vinum potantes dant omnes, Ps.* 1270, *Illos accubantis, potantis, amantis / cum scortis reliqui.* In the first example *potantes* differs from *potator* above by the presence of *vinum*, but is felt as a noun, and is the subject of a verb; in the second it is adjectival in force.

There are two examples of *precator* and one of *precans*: *Ps.* 606, *Nam ego precator et patronus foribus processi foras; As.* 415, *Siquidem hercle nunc summum Iovem te dicas detinuisse / Atque is precator adsiet malam rem effugies numquam; Ru.* 259, *Nam vox me precantum huc foras excitavit.* In these examples *precator* is an adjunct of a pronoun, and its function is mainly adjectival; *precantum* is independent of any other substantive, and means suppliants. It might be said that the idea of action continuing is emphasized, but this explanation is unnecessary; *vox* in the context does that quite as well if *precatorum* be substituted.

There is one instance of *screator* and one of *screans*, both, according to Harpers' *Lexicon*, *ἀν. λεγ.*: *Mi.* 647, *Minume spuator, screator sum, itidem minume mucidus; Cu.* 115, *Tibi qui screanti, siccae, semisomnae adfert potionem et sitim sedatum it.* It is difficult to see much difference between *screator* and *screanti* except in case and gender.

Spectator occurs twenty-six times. In twenty-two of these instances it occurs in the form *spectatores*, which is vocative in eighteen instances. Three times it is accusative, once in an address to the spectators, once in an intimation that they should be addressed: *Ca.* 1, *Salvere iubeo spectatores optumos; Ps.* 1332, *Quin vocas spectatores simul?* Once it occurs in what is probably a hit at the spectators: *Mer.* 160, *Dormientes spectatores metuis ne ex somno excites?* In *Poe.* 551 the nominative occurs: *Omnia istaec scimus iam nos, si hi spectatores sciant. / Horunc hi[n]c nunc causa haec agitur spectatorum fabula.*

There are two instances of the genitive beside the one just given: Tru. 109, *Fit pol hoc et pars spectatorum sci[s]tis pol haec vos me haud mentiri*; Ps. 720, *Horum causa haec agitur spectatorum fabula*. Here the first of these examples approaches the meaning of a vocative, the second does not. There is one instance of a dative: Am. Prol. 66, *Ut conquis[i]tores singula in subsellia / Eant per totam caveam spectatoribus*.⁶ *Spectans* and *inspectans* occur once each, both in the *Amphitruo*: 151, *Adeste: erit operae pretium hic spectantibus / Iovem et Mercurium facere histrioniam*. Here *spectantibus* is a noun, and cannot mean anything different from *spectatoribus*. <In>*spectans* occurs 998, *Iam hic deludetur, spectatores, vobis <in>spectantibus*. *Spectator* is not used in a professionalized sense; anybody could be a spectator. Nor has the suffix any force of inherence or permanence. *Spectatores* are not 'qui spectent' but 'qui spectant.' Consequently the word is not different from *spectans*, except, perhaps, that it is timeless. It may be addressed to those who have seen a play, or to those who are about to see one.

The phrase 'professionalized sense' requires a word of explanation. If an action was of such a nature that it was isolated from other activities to the extent that it was performed by a special class, then the noun denoting a member of that class became a professionalized word in the sense in which I here use that term; if on the other hand the action was not so isolated and performed, there was corresponding to such action no professionalized noun. It can readily be seen that the distinction is not absolute; but *imperator* or *gubernator*, on the one hand, and *osor* or *impulsor*, on the other, will serve to illustrate the difference. It should be borne in mind that this professionalizing or non-professionalizing of a word was due to its semantic area and to the circumstances of the time. The difference between a professionalized and a non-professionalized word is the difference between the so-called subjunctive of characteristic and

⁶ *Spectatores* is used at the conclusion of thirteen of the twenty plays in an address to the audience; the conclusion of the *Aulularia* is fragmentary; at the conclusion of the *Miles*, *Poenulus*, and *Truculentus*, 'Plaudite' occurs; of the *Epidicus*, 'Plaudite et valete'; of the *Asinaria* 'plausum datis'; of the *Mercator*, 'vos accumst clare plaudere,' addressed to the *adulescentes*, who are supposed to be the *spectatores* most interested in the outcome of the play.

the indicative; the difference between 'qui spectent' and 'qui spectant' above, with the further difference that the action denoted by the verb from which a professionalized verbal noun was formed must have been set apart for performance by a special class. This latter point of contrast makes a distinction between such -tor nouns as *imperator* and verbals in -ax. The latter may denote permanence of quality or permanent tendency to action quite as much as a -tor noun; but there are in Plautus no -ax words denoting a professional class.

There are, as noted above, fourteen verbals in -ax in Plautus; of these, three have corresponding forms in -ns; viz., *edax*, *ferax*, *maledicax*. Per. 421, *Perenniserue, lurco edax, furax, fugax*; Ep. 307, *agrum. . . . / Aeque feracem quam hic est noster Periphanes*; Cu. 512, <H>*au male meditate maledicaz es*. Compare Cu. 186, *Irascere si te edentem hic a cibo abigat*; Mo. 232, *Quom <me> videbunt gratiam refer<re rem fe>renti*; Mer. 410, *Atque ut nunc sunt maledicentes homines*.⁷ Here *edentem* is obviously a present participle, denoting definite action at the time referred to; *edax* denotes rather tendency; *ferax* is a specialized sort of *ferens*, and would apply to only one meaning of *fero*; cf. Lucretius, v, 942, *Plurima tum tellus etiam maiora ferebat*. There seems to be no difference between *maledicax* and *maledicentes* in the examples quoted, except that *maledicax* exactly fulfils the function of a perfect participle active; Cappa-dox has just been abusing Lyco.

According to Naudet's Index, participles in -ns are, in Plautus, formed on only four of the verb stems on which -dus verbals are formed;⁸ these participles are *cupiens*, *nitens*, *placens*, and *valens*. Further, the Goetz-Schoell text reads *nitent* for the only instance of *nitens* which Naudet gives, and *placet* or *placent* in seven of the nine instances of *placens*, while the other two are missing. So far as I can discover, there is left in the standard text of Plautus no instance of *nitens* or *placens*; there remain

⁷ There seems to be no instance of 'dicens' in the Goetz-Schoell text, though Lodge quotes one from Mer. 142.

⁸ As to the connection of -dus verbals with their verbs, see Stolz, *Hist. Lat. Gram.*, p. 564, § 223: 'Aber zuzugeben ist, dass im Sprachgefühl Bildungen wie *avidus*, *callidus*, *validus*, u. s. w. mit den entsprechenden Verben in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang gebracht wurden.'

therefore only two participles — *cupiens* and *valens* — formed upon the same stems with *-dus* verbals.

There is sometimes no difference between *validus* and *valens*. Compare *As.* 575, *Ubi saepe ad languorem tua duritia dederis octo / Validos lictores, ulmeis adfectos lentis virgis*, and *ibid.* 565, *Astutos audacis viros, valentis virgatores*. *Validus* is used of *opes*, *Iuppiter*, absolutely (*Tru.* 126, *valeo et validum teneo*), once or twice of a subject *homo* or *ego* in the nominative. *Valens* seems to occur only three times, *valentula* once; in each instance applied to a person, as is *validus* in every instance but one.

Examples of *cupidus* are: *Ps.* 183, *vini modo cupidae estis*; *Po.* 179, *Leno . . . auri cupidus*; *Mi.* 1215,⁹ *Moderare animo: ne sis cupidus*; *Tri.* 237a, *Numquam amor quemquam nisi cupidum hominem / Postulat se in plagas conicere*; *Ba.* 1015, *Ego animo cupido atque oculis indomitis fui*. *Cupiens* occurs: *Ba.* 278, *Postquam aurum abstulimus in navem conscendimus / Domi cupientes*; *Mi.* 1165, *Abierim cupiens istius nuptiarum*; *ibid.* 997, *huc transivit atque huius cupiens corporist*; *Am.* 132, *Quoius cupiens maxumest*; *Po.* 74, *Cupienti liberorum, oesori mulierum*. Both *cupidus* and *cupiens* take the genitive; they seem practically equivalent in semantic area; though I have not in *Plautus* found *cupiens* used absolutely as is *cupidus* in *Mi.* 1215, and the former seems more often used in an erotic context; *cupidus* is however so used in *Tri.* 237a. There is no record of the noun *cupitor* in *Plautus'* time; it occurs first in *Tacitus*,¹⁰ and is there found twice: *An.* XII 7, *nec tamen*

⁹Compare, with *Mi.* 1215, *Cicero, Tusc.* IV 61, *Constantem enim quendam volumus, sedatum, gravem, humana omnia prementem illum esse, quem magnanimum et fortem virum dicimus. Talis autem nec maerens, nec timens, nec cupiens, nec gestiens esse quisquam potest.*

¹⁰*Tacitus* did not use *cupitor* from any objection to *cupiens* or *cupidus*. He gives two examples of *cupidus*: *D.* 31, *In his artibus exercitationibusque versatus orator, sive apud infestos, sive apud cupidos, sive apud invidentes, sive apud tristes, sive apud timentes dicendum habuerit, tenebit venas animorum*; *Hist.* I 80, *vulgus, ut mos est, cuiuscumque motus novi cupidum*. There are numerous instances of *cupiens*, usually governing the genitive, but sometimes the accusative: *Hist.* IV 49, *Festus . . . neque modica cupiens*; *An.* 16, 22, *Aut nova cupientibus auferatur dux et auctor*; *ibid.* 14, 14, *ut est vulgus, cupiens voluptatum*; *ibid.* 15, 46 (*populus*) *ut est novarum rerum cupiens pavidusque*.

reperitur est nisi unus talis matrimonii cupitor; id. XV 42, Nero tamen, ut erat incredibilium cupitor. It will be seen that cupitor is here in semantic content and in construction parallel to instances of cupiens and cupidus above.

In his edition of the Eclogues and Georgics (1847) Keightley has an excursus (p. 328) apropos of Ecl. I 65, Pars Scythiam et rapidum Cretae veniemus Oaxen, the upshot of which is that rapidus is equivalent to rapax, and is active. Rapidus, from rapio, would therefore appear to be nearly equivalent to rapiens and rapax, and to signify 'carrying away' and hence 'consuming.'¹¹ Keightley continues: 'in the following excursus we will show that adjectives in -idus and -ax are properly participles of the present tense and govern a genitive case.' The latter part of this statement should be qualified, and the former extended. Almost any verbal is at times a present participle, and verbals in -dus and -ax do not necessarily govern any case, though the genitive is fairly common after them. In a second excursus (p. 330) he continues, 'here we will endeavour to extend the principle, and show that this is the real nature of the supposed nouns in -idus, and that they are actives and not passive like the greater part of the nouns derived from them in modern languages.' A more satisfactory statement of the case would be that they are active or passive or both as stem and context require. Any discussion of voice or mode of adjectives which overlooks this fact is apt to become involved in metaphysics.¹² Paucker, in his discussion of words in -ivus has the right idea.¹³

Compare cupiens and pavidus in the last example; and compare the last two examples with volgus . . . novi motus cupidum, and cupitor incredibilium above.

¹¹ In two verses of Lucretius, IV 714; V 893, quoted by Keightley, modern editors have changed the reading 'rapidi' (canes, leones) to 'rabidi,' in each instance without MS authority—hardly an application of 'difficillior lectio melior.' 'Travolgenti' is Giusani's translation of 'rapidos,' Lucr. I 15.

¹² For examples of grammar and metaphysics badly mixed, see F. Hanssen, Die Aktivbedeutung der Adjektiva auf bilis im archaischen Latein, Philologus 47 (1889), pp. 274-290, and 'The Latin Adjective,' A. J. P. X 34-44. There are some good observations, e. g., Phil. p. 286, 'Die Adjektiva auf bilis sind im archaischen Latein niemals wirklich aktiv . . . sie sind vielmehr entweder passiv oder sie enthalten gewisse Mittelstufen zwischen echtem Passiv und echtem Aktiv, welche

In such an example as Mi. 760, *Probus hic conger frigidus*, is *frigidus* felt as active, or passive? In Mer. 965, *Uxor tibi placida et placata*, it would be difficult to assign any voice to *placida*, though it stands beside *placata*. -Tus endings must originally have passed through some similar condition, as they are now in some instances (*cenatus*, *iuratus*) active; possibly even -tor, if one can argue from such a word as *vector*.¹⁴

There is only one verb in Plautus which forms verbals in both -ax and -tor, that is *rapere*; it forms also *rapidus*; but I have been unable to find any instance of *rapiens*. Men. 65, *Ingressus fluvium rapidum ab urbe haud longule*, / *Rapidus raptori pueri subduxit pedes*, / *Abstraxitque hominem in maxumam malam crucem*. Here *raptor* is formally a noun governing the genitive. Its function is that of a perfect participle active. The old man

ich als die intransitive, instrumentale, und causale Bedeutung bezeichnet habe.' Hanssen's perception of 'Mittelstufen' is correct, though his classification as 'intransitive, instrumentale, und causale' leads into devious ways. But compare his remarks in A. J. P. X 42: 'I now come to the subject of mood. In the treatment of the moods of the adjective, we have, without doubt, to lay as a foundation the renowned trinity of Kant (cf. Kant's Critic of Pure Reason, Transcendental Analysis I 2). Kant distinguishes the problematic, assertive and apodictic modality ("Possibility, Existence, Necessity"). In this trinity, thinking is coupled with necessity. It is my opinion, although the modern comparative grammar holds an entirely different view, that it must also form the basis of the mood-doctrine in the verb. But on this point one can believe as he chooses; at any rate, Kant's division applies perfectly well in the case of the adjective.

'The assertive modality, to which the indicative in the verb corresponds, is found in the majority of adjectives. This needs no proof.'

¹³ Vorarbeiten zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte, p. 111: 'Die Suffixe -uus und -ivus . . . gehören in die Reihe derjenigen Suffixe, wie -us (-ul-us, b-ul-us . . .) oder -is (-il-is, b-ilis . . .) u. s. w., welche die schon im Participium beginnende Nominalisirung des Verbalbegriffs fortsetzend Verbal- oder Participial-Adjektiva bilden, nomina praedicativa, in welchen das Participium formell und functionell nominalisirt ist. Das ist die Function dieser Suffixe, eine Bedeutung haben sie an sich nicht.'

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 28: 'Das Verbalnomen auf t-or, s-or, weiblich -rix, das wir persönliches Participialnomen benennen möchten, bezeichnet den persönlichen Träger einer Bethätigung als solchen, wie amator = is qui amat, Liebhaber, imperator = is qui imperat, imperandi potestatem habet, hat also eine activische Bedeutung actionis imperfectae, nur selten ausnahmsweise eine passivische als vector auch is qui vehitur, Seefahrer, Reiter, gestator Mart. is qui gestari se patitur.'

had once carried off a boy. There is no idea of permanent characteristic. It is different in Ep. 300, *Auro opulentus, miles Rhodius, raptor hostium*; a proper epithet for a soldier, and denoting characteristic.

As to the participial character of raptor, see Am. 206, *Si sine vi et sine bello velint rapta et raptores tradere*. *Raptores* is active to rapta passive. Tri. 254, *Raptores panis et peni*, gives the idea of characteristic again. Compare with the last example Tri. 285, *Turbant, miscent mores mali, rapax, avarus, invidus*. *Rapax* is not limited by an object in the genitive; that is its only semantic difference from raptor. Note also that in the last example *rapere: rapax:: avere: avarus:: invadere: invidus*; that is, here -ax — -rus — -dus.

For the coincidence of -tor and -dus on the same stem in Plautus, *rapere* furnishes also the only example; and beside the verses quoted above (Men. 65-8) there is only one occurrence of *rapidus*: Ba. 85, *Rapidus fluvius est hic; non hac temere transiri potest*.¹⁵ Furthermore *rapidus* and *rapax* furnish the only coincidence of an -ax and a -dus verbal on the same stem.

¹⁵ As *rapidus* occurs in Plautus in every instance with *fluvius*, it may be well to cite some passages quoted by Keightley: "Ennius says (A. 302) '*Europam Libyamque rapax ubi dividit unda*,' which verse Lucretius thus imitates (I 721) '*Angustoque fretu rapidum mare dividit undis*.' This poet also, having said (I 15) '*Et rapidos tranant amnes*,' has only two (Munro's text, three) lines after, '*fluviosque rapaces*,' evidently for the sake of varying the phrase." On the last passage Munro says: '*rapacis* is well explained by Ovid Met. VIII 550 *nec te committe rapacibus undis: Ferre trabes solidas obliquaque volvere magno Murmure saxa solent. vidi contermina ripae Cum gregibus stabula alta trahi* Vergil also applies it to rivers, Seneca to a torrent, Ennius (?) Ann. 303, Ovid, Seneca to a sea-current.' (Compare also Seneca, Thy. 477, *Siculi rapax . . . aestus unda*.) Munro's example from Ovid seems to me not apposite to the passage from Lucretius; that is, if he intends by the two examples to set up a concept peculiar to *rapax*. The passages from Lucretius give no comment on either *rapidus* or *rapax*, while the Ovid passage does comment on *rapax*; which comment, if there were nothing else to compare it with, might lead to the establishment of an artificial difference between *rapidus* and *rapax*. But Ovid (also quoted by Keightley) uses the former in the sense that Munro here rightly illustrates (though unfairly applies) for *rapax*: Tr. I 7, 20, *Imposui rapidis viscera nostra rogis*. See also Giusani on Lucr. I 15, quoted above. The truth probably is that the idea of swiftness and the idea of consuming were not clearly differentiated

The total number of -tor/trix verbals from Plautus examined (counting as one amator/trix, etc., where the masculine and feminine terminations are found on the same stem) is 137; of -ax verbals, 14; -dus, 27; -ns, 132. It should be observed that no single instance occurs of all four terminations on the same stem; of three terminations occurring on one stem the only example is furnished by the verbals of rapere; this verb furnishes also the only instances of -ax/-dus, -tor/-dus, -tor/-ax. Of the combination -ns/-dus the only examples are furnished by valens/validus and cupiens/cupidus; the -ns/-ax combination is found on the stems of only three verbs, maledicere, edere, ferre; -tor/-ns on those of eleven: advenire, amare, audire, currere, edere, gerere, merere, potare, precari, scire, spectare. Therefore out of a possible 14 coincidences of the four terminations, not one occurs; of a possible 69 occurrences of three of the terminations on one stem, one occurs; of a possible 14 occurrences of -ax/-tor or -ax/-dus, one of each is found; of a possible 27 coincidences of -ns/-dus, two occur; of a possible 14 of -ax/-ns, three occur; of a possible 27 of -tor/-dus, one occurs; and of a possible 132 of -ns/-tor, -trix eleven occur. Furthermore, instances occur, as noted above, where two terminations with equivalence of semantic content are found on the same stem. The conclusion may be fairly drawn that when one of these terminations was in use already upon any given stem, it was more apt to continue to be used than to give place to another. The participial termination was the least differentiated of them all, having only two restrictions, that of time and that of voice, the former of which was not always observed. This termination is also, as might be expected, the one furnishing the largest number of examples (in my collection of -ns verbals, which, as observed above, is not complete, 647 as compared with 383 of -tor/-trix verbals, the collection of which I have tried to make complete). It could cover, in suitable context, about all the ground that they could cover; but they could perform most of the functions of an active present participle even to the extent, in the case of auctor, of governing an accusative. The fact that there are so few coin-

in either of these words. We think of the words 'rapid' and 'rapacious,' semantically distinct in English, and are then apt unconsciously to read back some such distinction into rapax and rapidus.

cidences of pairs of the terminations -tor, -ax, -dus, -ns, upon the same stem is significant. Taken in conjunction with the fact that when they do so occur they have sometimes no appreciable semantic difference, it would seem that they composed in Plautus a mass of more or less undifferentiated material. The remainder of this paper aims to illustrate this condition in more detail.

The termination -ns is not, of course, strictly limited to verb-stems. See Stolz, *Hist. Lat. Gram.*, pp. 423, 562, §§ 62, 221. Stolz says, § 221, 'an die Participia auf -nt- hat sich eine beträchtliche Anzahl gleichgearteter Bildungen angeschlossen die von Substantiven abgeleitet sind'; but he refers to them as 'zum grossen Theil erst der späteren Latinität angehörige Bildungen.' Such formations are not of interest here, except as showing that -ns was capable of a wide application.

Lindsay (*L.L.*, p. 352) quotes as nouns *parens*, *serpens*, *adolenscens*, and others. His remark on *rudens*¹⁶ is "rudens (O. Ind. rudant), (1) 'roaring,' (2) 'a rope.'" Neither *serpens* nor *serpere* is found in Plautus (on Naudet's evidence). *Proserpens* occurs four times (*As.* 695, *Per.* 299, *Poe.* 1034, *St.* 724), each time with *bestia*; that is, as an adjective. All of the words here given retain the present force except *parens*,¹⁷ which may be presumed to have had it at first, though it could hardly be applied until after the event; and it was applied to people as long as they lived, thus having the character rather of a perfect than of a present participle. Cf. *Poe.* 110, *Quo genere gnata, qui parentes fuerint*, where *parentes* could be regarded as a present participle, and *Ru.* 390, *Qui suos parentes noscere posset*, where it could not.

The participle may be a noun or an adjective. It may also function as a future or as a past tense. Following are some examples of *adveniens* to illustrate this point. *St.* 456, *Nunc interviso iamne a portu advenerit / Ut eum advenientem meis dictis deleniam*; here *adveniens* amounts to 'if he has come.' Compare *Per.* 731, *Transcidi loris omnia adveniens domi*, and *Poe.* 1137, *Tua pietas nobis plane auxilio fuit / Quum huc advenisti hodie in ipso tempore*. The tense idea is the same in *advenisti* and in *adveniens*; see also *Cap.* 914, *Adveniens totum detur-*

¹⁶ Walde says of *rudens* 'vielleicht . . . Ptc. eines d- Präsens . . . Kaum als rasselnd oder dgl. zu rudo.'

¹⁷ On the formation of *parens* see Lindsay, *L. L.* p. 465.

bavit cum carne carnarium / Arripuit gladium, praetruncavit tribus tergoribus glandia. Adveniens here cannot denote incompleted action. So in Ps. 1201, Ego tibi argentum dedi / Et dudum adveniens extemplo sumbolum servo tuo. In these examples adveniens is equivalent to a past tense.

Examples in which 'adveniens' is equivalent to a future tense are easy to find. Ba. 61, Tu prohibebis et eadem opera tuo sodali operam dabis / Et ille adveniens tuam med esse amicam suspicabitur; 'when he shall come' or, colloquially, 'when he comes.' Compare Am. 466, Iam ille illuc ad erum quom Amphitruonem advenerit / Narrabit servom hinc sese a foribus Sosiam / Amovisse. Compare Mi. 578, Ut miles quom extemplo a foro adveniat domum / Domi comprehendar, and Ba. 769, Ambulabo ad [h]ostium, ut, quando exeat / Extemplo advenienti ei tabellam dem in manum. Compare also Mo. 1069, Docte atque astu[te] mihi captandumst cum illo ubi huc advenerit, and Cu. 660, Tu ut hodie adveniens cenam des sororiam; and with the last example compare Mi. 806, Miles domum ubi advenerit / Memineris ne Philocomasium nomines.

These examples are intended to illustrate the point that the verbal in -ns is not limited in its time function to the present or to continuous action; it was probably timeless at first, and it may in Plautus fulfil the function of a perfect, future, or future perfect tense. Its use as an adjective or a noun is too common to require further comment here.

It may be observed, however, that the verbal in -ns is sometimes treated more as an integral part of the verb than other forms which have an equal right. For instance, sapere and augere are both used transitively in Plautus: Ps. 495, recte ego meam rem sapio, Callipho, and Ep. 192, Di hercle omnes me adjuvant, augent, amant. Sapiens is never found governing an accusative; two or three times as an adjective, as Tru. 868, Cogitato mus pusillus quam sit sapiens bestia; auctor, on the other hand, is several times used with parts of the verb sum to govern an accusative; as, Ps. 1166, Quid nunc mihi's auctor, Simo? Sapiens is, of course, often used as a noun, e. g., Tri. 363, Nam sapiens quidem pol ipse fingit fortunam sibi, as sometimes is auctor, e. g., Ep. 357, Nunc auctorem / Dedit mihi ad hanc rem Apocidem; but auctor is generally in Plautus used in combination with esse, and with distinct verbal force; yet sapiens is

found in Lewis and Short under *sapere*, and *auctor* has a section to itself, as though it had less close connection with its verb than *sapiens* has with *sapere*.

Other participles which are perhaps not often thought of as nouns, may be so used that they become nouns. *Cas.* 20, *Sed tamen absentes prosunt* <pro> *praesentibus?*; *Ep.* 112, *Nil agit qui diffidentem verbis solatur suis*; *Am.* 311, *Proin tu istam cenam largire, si sapis, esurientibus*. *Ps.* 1270 is an instance in which several participles appear in their immediate context to be nouns, but are found on closer examination in a wider context to be adjectives: '*Illos accubantis, potantis, amantis / Cum scortis reliqui.*'

Adulescens is an adjective in *Ps.* 434, *Quid novum adulescens homo si amat?* *Praesens* furnishes an example of a present participle in form, which is divorced in meaning from its verb because of the specialization in meaning of the latter: *Poe.* 88 sq., *Vendit . . . / Praesenti argento homini, si lenest homo*. In this connection notice the conjunction of *praesens* with *adesse*: *Am.* 977, *tametsi praesens non ades*; *Mo.* 1075, *adsum praesens praesenti tibi*; *St.* 577, *praesens esuriens adest*.

-*Tor/trix* verbals are sometimes used as adjectives or participles. Compare *Mo.* 916, *Me suasore atque impulsore id factum audacter dicito* and *Tri.* 167, *Me absente et insciente, inconsultu meo*; ¹⁸ also *Cu.* 665, *Me lubente feceris* and *St.* 602, *Non me quidem faciet auctore*. In *Men.* 444, *Dicto me emit audientem haud imperatorem sibi*, '*dicto audientem*' is contrasted with *imperator*. In *Poe.* 74, *Vendit eum domino hic quidam diviti seni / Cupienti liberorum, osori mulierum*, it should be borne in mind that *cupiens* had in *Plautus'* time no corresponding form *cupitor*; and that *odi* functions as a present tense; so that the conjunction of the forms here given is almost a logical necessity. *As.* 856-9 gives an excellent example in which *osorem* and *amantem* are directly contrasted, each limiting *virum*, and

¹⁸ This is the only example of *inconsultus* recognized as a noun by Lewis and Short. It might be said that *meo* was felt as a pronoun and *inconsultu* as a participle; at any rate the pronominal force is strong in *meo* and the verbal in *inconsultu*. The construction results from the combination of the passive voice in the same sequence and construction with the active. The absence of a present passive participle is responsible for the difficulty.

in a sequence with several other adjectives: ART. At scelestā ego praeter alios meum virum †frugi ratā / Siccum, frugi, continentem, amantem uxoris maxime. / PA. At nunc dehinc scito illum ante omnes minimi mortalem preti, / Madidum, nili, incontinentem atque osorem uxoris suae.

There seems to be agreement among etymologists that -turus of the future participle active has no relation to -tor.¹⁹ The -tor verbal could, however, serve as a future participle active, though rarely. Compare Ps. 907, (Di) quom te genuerunt adiutorem mihi and Cu. 325, Quae tibi sunt parata, postquam scimus venturum. Adjutor, in the former example, seems to have also the idea of purpose.

In Mer. 741, Nam mihi amatori seni / coquendast cena; St. 746, Nimioque sibi mulier meretrix repperit odium ocus; and Tri. 226, Magister mihi exercitor animus nunc est, amatori, meretrix, and exercitor appear as adjectives to seni, mulier, and animus, respectively.²⁰ In Am. 188, Victores victis hostibus legiones reueniunt domum, victores in the active corresponds to victis in the passive. Victrix²¹ occurs Cas. 820, and the -tor termination is sometimes used with a feminine noun (St. 129). The reason for victores here may very well be that it was thought of as applying to 'milites' implicit in 'legiones.' In Poe. 1094, Ei duae puellae sunt, meretrices servolae / Sorores, it may be difficult to determine whether meretrices is an adjective or a noun. So in Men. 128, Ubi sunt amatores mariti?, though in the latter passage the emphasis requires rather 'flirting husbands' than 'married flirts.'

¹⁹ Lindsay, L. L., p. 540, 'the Fut. Part. Act. in -turus is probably a formation with the suffix -ro- from a TU-stem Verbal Noun.' Bruggmann, V. G. II, p. 1268, note.

²⁰ Judging by their punctuation, the editors of the Goetz-Schoell text have not taken amatori seni or mulier meretrix as cases of apposition.

²¹ Victrix as an adjective is not found in Plautus, but is rather common later: Hor. Odes, III 3, 63, Ducente victrices catervas / Coniuge me Iovis et sorore; Lucan, Phar. I 128, Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni (note contrast of victrix and victa). Also in prose: Cic. ad Att. V 21, 2, Quo autem die Cassi litterae victrices in senatu recitatae sunt; Pliny, N. H. XXXVIII 4, 15, (Adamantis) ignium victrix natura, et numquam incalescens. Prudentius, Psych. 433 has an interesting example of a -trix adjective: Caede ducis dispersa fugit trepidante pavore / Nugatrix acies. Compare the colloquial 'trifling.'

An example of a -trix word on a noun stem and adjectival in force is *ianitrix* in Cu. 76, *Anus hic solet cubare, custos ianitrix*.²²

Mo. 257, *Nunc adsentatrix scelestast, dudum advorsatrix erat*, shows a strong verbal force in the words *adsentatrix* and *advorsatrix*.²³ The sentence might be translated, 'Now the wretch flatters, a moment ago she was opposing.' But the -tor verbal shows its verbal force most clearly in *auctor*. Following are some examples in which *auctor* with some part of the verb *sum* governs an accusative or an object clause: Mi. 1094, *Quid nunc mihi[t] auctor ut faciam, Palaestrio?*; Mer. 312, *Lysimache, auctor sum ut me amando enices*; Ps. 1166, *Quid nunc mihi's auctor Simo?*; St. 128/9, *Mi auctores ita sunt amici ut vos hinc abducam domum. / At enim nos quarum res agitur aliter*²⁴ *auctores sumus*.

Latin lacks a perfect active participle for active verbs. Sometimes the -tus participle has an active meaning.²⁵ How in other cases the idea which is in other languages expressed by a perfect or aorist participle may be expressed in Latin would be a question for a separate study; probably the best recognized methods are the ablative absolute and the cum clause. The -tor verbal, which is often a timeless participle, sometimes discharged this function. Some of the examples already quoted show the contrasting of -tor and -tus as active and passive: Am. 206, *Si sine vi . . . velint rapta et raptores tradere*; *ibid.* 188, *Victores victis hostibus legiones reveniunt domum*. Some show the -tor verbal carrying the force of a perfect participle active, as Men. 65, *Rapidus raptori pueri subduxit pedes*. So in some of the instances where *auctor esse* governs an accusative or an object clause. Compare in St. 128, *Mi auctores ita sunt amici ut vos*

²² With *janitor/trix* compare the gloss of Festus, D. S. V. p. 102 M., '*ianeus* : *ianitor*,' giving an instance of semantic equivalence between -tor and -eus.

²³ In Plautus no present participle is found from the same stem as *adsentatrix* and *advorsatrix*.

²⁴ Note the use of *aliter* with *auctores sumus*.

²⁵ See Lindsay, L. L., p. 520 and pp. 541/2; and Stolz, *Hist. Lat. Gram.* p. 530, § 186. -Tor and -tus are sometimes semantic equivalents when formed on noun stems; compare Ru. 805, *Ehem, optume edepol eccum clavator advenit* and Cu. 424, *Clypeatus elephantum ubi machaera dissicit*.

hinc abducam domum; Mi. 1276, Egon ad illam eam quae nupta sit?; and ibid. 1374, Ante hoc factum hunc sum arbitratus semper servom pessumum; auctores, nupta, and arbitratus. There is no question about arbitratus sum; it is simply the perfect active of a deponent verb. The sense of auctores sunt is that of the perfect active of an active verb: 'My friends have been advising me to take you home out of this.' Nupta may be regarded as a participle or as a noun, according to the emphasis. Many other examples like these could be collected. If -tor is timeless so also quite often is -tus.²⁶ -Tor verbals could function as present or perfect—rarely perhaps as future—participles.

Piscator and piscatus show the contrast of active and passive between -tor and -tus. The former means 'a fisherman'; the latter 'the act of fishing' or 'the fish caught.' In Ru. 910, Gripus, after getting the box, says quae in mari fluctuoso / Piscatu novo (a new kind of fish) me uberi compotivit. Other examples of piscatus are: Ru. 912, Miroque modo atque incredibili hic piscatus mihi lepide evenit; Mo. 730, Vino et victu, piscatu probo electili / Vitam colitis; Ru. 299, 'Postid piscatum hamatitem et saxatitem adgredimur' (in the chorus of the piscatores). Compare almost any instance of piscator; e. g., Ru. 987, Sed tu nunquam piscatorem vidisti, venefice, / Vidulum piscem cepisse. Here the 'vidulum piscem' is the 'novo piscatu' referred to by Gripus in 910.

-Tor verbals are used with adjectives and nouns of every formation in a common sequence and applying to the same person or thing; in such a situation the words are of the same semantic nature, whatever they may be called. In Tri. 239a,b, blandiloquentulus, harpago, mendax, / cuppes, avarus, elegans, despoli-

²⁶In this connection, see such examples as Am. 186, quod numquam opinatus fui, and Mo. 994, Vectus fui. Blase says (*Hist. Lat. Gram.*, Dritter Band, Erstes Heft, p. 173), 'Da das Perfektum des Passivs seine alte präsentische Bedeutung beibehielt, so war es in der Erzählung vergangener Ereignisse, weil das Partizip auch adjektivisch verstanden werden konnte, nicht deutlich genug. Man verband es deshalb zur besseren Hervorhebung der Vergangenheit mit fui. Schon im Altlatein werden einzelne solcher Perfekta ohne erkennbaren Unterschied von der Umschreibung mit est gebraucht.'

Morris says (note to Ps. 171, p. 120), 'The choice between fui and sum was influenced by the metre, as fui occurs most frequently at the end of a vs. or before the caesura of iamb. octon.'

ator, -ax = -tor = -rus. In Mi. 1055, *Expromē benignum ex te ingenium, urbicape, occisor regum*, 'urbicape' = 'captor urbium.' **Regicidus*, so far as I know, does not exist; one cannot see why Plautus should have balked at such a compound. -Tor verbals, then, can govern an accusative, and can function as participles and as adjectives; and -tor can be the semantic equivalent, in suitable context, of various other terminations.

Verbals in -ax are much more frequently used (in proportion to their occurrence) to qualify nouns than are those in -tor; but the former also are not at all uncommonly used as nouns. Men. 1050, *Men . . . convenisse te, audax, aude dicere* / *Postquam advorsum mihi imperavi ut huc venires?*; Ru. 711, *At etiam minitatur audax?* Compare Am. 285, *Ego pol te istis tuis prodictis et malefactis, furcifer*; *ibid.* 557, *iam quidem hercle ego tibi istam / Scelestam, scelus, linguam abscidam*; and Men. 1015, *Vos scelesti, vos rapaces, vos praedones*. *Audax* in Men. 1050 and Ru. 711 is as much or as little a noun as *furcifer* in Am. 285 or *scelus* *ibid.* 577. So in Men. 1015, *rapaces* is whatever *scelesti* and *praedones* are. In the latter sentence the idea is not to be expressed by 'you are scoundrels, etc.,' but by 'you scoundrels, etc.'

The tendency to look upon *rapax* as an adjective in such contexts is perhaps increased by the fact that for *scelus* and *furcifer* it is easy to find a convenient noun such as 'scoundrel' or 'rascal,' but no such noun so readily appears for *rapax*. In Poe. 1385/6, *Leno, rapacem te esse semper credidi* / *Verum etiam furacem <aiunt> qui norunt magis*, the second verse would most naturally be translated, 'But those who know you better say that you are also a thief.' We are not justified in calling *furax* a noun merely because it is more easily and neatly translated as such; nor in assuming that *rapax* is not a noun because it is not conveniently so translated.

The use of -ax verbals as participles has been remarked above. See also Am. 152, *Qui me alter est audacior homo, aut qui confidentior?* Here *confidens*: *confidere*:: *audax*: *audere*. There is no instance of *audens* in Plautus.

-Dus verbals also are sometimes nouns: Am. 526, *Facitne ut dixi? timidam palpo percutit*; Au. 485/6, *In maxumam illuc populi partemst optimum*, / *In pauciores avidos altercatiost*; Ru. 1237-9, *Atque edepol in eas plerumque esca imponitur* /

Quam siquis avidus poscit escam avariter / Decipitur in tra(n)-senna avaritia sua. In the last example note the correspondence of *avidus* with *avaritia* and *avariter*. In Ep. 583, (*patrem*) *Tuom vocas me et oscularis, quid stas stupida, quid taces?* and Mi. 1254, *Quid astitisti obstupida?*, *stupida* and *obstupida* have the force of participles, but they might be construed as adjectives or nouns, and would probably be translated into English as nouns or adverbs.

Verbals in *-dus* have already been mentioned as participles. *Cupidus* has almost always in Plautus participial force and a dependent genitive. There are other instances where the verbal force of the *-dus* verbal is equivalent to that of the present participle in *-ns*: Cu. 511, *Quasi aquam ferventem frigidam esse* (there is in Plautus no example of *frigens* nor of *fervidus*, though *frigere* and *fervere* occur); Ru. 409, *Timidas, egenteis, uvidas, eiectas, exanimatas* (there is no *timens* nor *uens* in Plautus, and no **egidus* in Latin; though there is no logical reason why it should not exist as well as *cupidus*).

Verbals in *-ax* and *-dus*, when they govern any case of a noun, govern usually a genitive (see Keightley's *Excursus*, quoted above). One *-tor* verbal—*auctor*—has already been seen in combination with *esse* to govern an accusative; we have no such irrefragable evidence that a *-dus* verbal can govern an accusative, but Cas. 632, *Quid timida's?*, furnishes a pretty close analogy to *Quid auctor es?* of Ps. 1166. *Timens* is not found in Plautus, and *timidus* has just been seen (Ru. 409) in the same construction with *egens*. *-Tor*, *-ax*, *-dus*, and *-ns* verbals are all, in Plautus, floating between participle and noun and adjective.

Other verbals might have been included in this survey; in particular, *-vus*.²⁷ For example, there are in Plautus nine occurrences of *fugitivus*, one each of *fugitor* and *fugax*, and none of *fugiens*, whilst **fugidus* is not found in Latin. The only difference in the semantic content of *fugax* and almost any example of *fugitivus*, is that *fugax* seems less definite; and it is quite possibly brought in for alliterative effect (Per. 421, *edax, furax, fugax*). Before bringing this paper to a close, however, I will

²⁷ See Paucker, *Vorarbeiten zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte*, pp. 111 ff.

merely mention the terminations -*urus* and -*ndus*. Brugmann²⁸ will not allow the -*tura* nouns to be connected with the future participle active; even so, however, in such phrases as *morituri te salutant* the future participle is turning into a noun on its own account. The verbal in -*ndus* could on occasion become a noun; as in *merenda* (Mo. 966, *Vide sis ne forte ad merendam quopiam devortaris*), *praebenda*, *secundae* (Cels. VII 29; Sen. Ep. 92, 34; Pliny, N. H. XXVII 4, 13, *ibid.*, XXX 123).

Auctor is the verbal, ordinarily recognized as a noun, which most clearly of the -*tor* verbals examined, shows strong verbal force. It is, I believe, never found in Plautus without such force rather clearly shown. Compare with any of those instances in which *auctor esse* governs an accusative or an object clause Cic. Opt. Gen. Or. 6, 17: *Quin ipsum Isocratem, quem divinus auctor Plato suum fere aequalem admirabiliter in Phaedro laudari fecit ab Socrate*. Here *auctor* stands as a sort of finished product, an unquestionable noun. But give *auctor* a dependent genitive, as in Cic. Brutus, 11, 44, *quem rerum Romanarum auctorem laudare possum religiosissimum*, and it is not hard to pass to *consili publici auctorem* of De Orat. I 48, 211; thence it is an easy transition to Verr. II, V 26, 67, *Unum cedo auctorem tui facti*; thence to Att. IX 10 *Ego quidem tibi non sum auctor, si Pompeius Italiam relinquit, te quoque profugere*; thence to *ibid.* XV 5 *mihi que ut absim, vehementer auctor est*, where *auctor est* has the force of a perfect active verb; from which to ad Fam. VI 8, 2, *litterae a te mihi redditae sunt, quibus a me consilium petis, quid sim tibi auctor*, and Att. XIII 40, 2, *Etsi quid mi auctor es?* it is but a step.

I have indicated the process in inverse order; but the possible steps in the psychological process that must have taken place are thereby not less clearly seen. There is nothing definite here shown as to the historical character of the transition from *auctor*, the indefinite verbal, to *auctor*, the finished noun, as all these usages of the word quoted in the preceding paragraph occur in a single author; but that some such transition did take place at

²⁸ Verg. Gram., II, p. 1268, Anm.: 'Von den Verbaladjectiva auf -*turus* sind die Abstracta auf *tura* wie *partura* etymologisch zu trennen, wie sie auch in ihrer Bedeutung, die nichts futurisches hat, abweichen: sie enthielten -*rd-* als Secundärsuffix.

a definite historical time is surely a justifiable inference. After the -tor verbal was frequently recognized as a noun, -tor nouns were undoubtedly formed on verb stems without any intermediate process; the need of such nouns and the action of analogy quite easily account for that.

There is perhaps no logical reason why -ax, -dus, or -ns verbals should not have formed 'agent' nouns, and why -tor verbals should not have remained, as -ax, -dus, and -ns verbals did, rather indefinite, participial words. What differentiation took place depended on factors that cannot now be at all fully known.

The four classes studied in this paper, however, afford indication as to what must have been the earlier condition of the language. If verbals in -tor, -dus, -ax, and -ns could, in Plautus' time, be participles, adjectives, or nouns, it seems reasonable to suppose that in earlier times the variation was considerably wider. Of these and other terminations used to form verbals it seems probable that, as Paucker says of -us, -ivus, etc., 'Eine Bedeutung haben sie an sich nicht.' It is impossible, on formal grounds, to establish a hard and fast distinction between adjective, and noun and participle; in the case of verbals, it is perhaps not less impossible to make such a distinction on functional grounds. Functional distinctions, pressed to their logical conclusion, lead to metaphysics. Concerning the terminations discussed here, it can be said only that they have much ground in common, and tend to differentiation in their usage. Within each class individual words (as *cliens*, *sapiens*) may differentiate in ways which can scarcely be taken account of in any attempt at more definite generalization about the mass. On the whole, -ns words are least clearly, and -tor words most clearly, differentiated; which, in psychological terms, means, in this case, only that most -tor words, owing to their sphere of usage, will, when heard or seen without context, recall the percept of a person, while most -ns words will suggest their appropriate verbs. In this respect -dus and -ax words fall between the other two.

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III. CICERO AND THE POETAE NOVI.

In the year in which Cicero reached the height of his great fame and power, honored by the people of Rome as the father of his country and a second Romulus, a number of clever young men then about the age of twenty threw aside their school-books to enter into the political fray, some with the Tories of the Senate, others choosing the alluring program of Catiline which promised quicker returns for efforts. Cicero knew many of them; not a few had been his pupils¹ and hence he speaks with such deep concern of the adherence or defection of the *adulescentuli*.² It was out of this circle that there arose in the following decade various noteworthy groups, one of which Cicero later called the *poetae novi*, another which he designated as Atticists, and a third, the circle of "iuvenes" who supported him most loyally in his misfortunes during the Clodian days. I wish here to notice Cicero's points of contact with these various groups and to define to what extent the same individuals entered into all of them. In the process we may find a new meaning in certain lines of Catullus and Cicero.

Just one year after the famous Nones of December a petty incident occurred which was destined to bring Cicero to grief. Clodius, always prone to mischief, scandalized Roman society by secreting himself in Cæsar's house while the matrons were performing the mysterious rites of Bona Dea. The incident might have been treated as a farce and the culprit appropriately snubbed by decent society, but the Claudian family with its numerous relationships in the senatorial aristocracy was deep in politics, had made numerous enemies, and a trial for sacrilege was demanded and granted. Cicero somewhat reluctantly consented to give testimony, and so destroyed the culprit's alibi. Clodius revenged himself by a ready jibe at the witness, who retorted with a better one, and a war to the hilt was on between them before the trial was concluded.

¹ *Studio dicendi conciliatos plurimos adulescentulos.* De Pet. Cons. 3.

² Cic. Cat. II 8 and 22; Pro Mur. 49 and 74.

At the trial Clodius was defended by the elder Curio, who was generally a good friend of Cicero's, and supported by the *iuvenes barbatuli*—the fashion had just come in—who were boisterously led by the younger Curio or *filiola Curionis** as Cicero here calls him. These young men Cicero at this point designated by various unpleasant names, the *comissatores conjurationis*, for instance, hinting that some of them had sympathized with Catiline at least over the cups.⁴ Indeed many of Cicero's later supporters had in their youth found Catiline attractive, as Cicero subsequently admits.⁵

Clodius' sister, the Lesbia of Catullus, was of course intensely interested in the whole matter, and Cicero when once stirred to the point of invective made the charge—all too freely made in those days—that bribes were offered to the jurors, this time not only in money but also by way of notes of introduction to "certain women."⁶ One wonders with what feelings the young poet from the provinces heard the taunts hurled at Clodius and his sister during these days, the *rumores senum severiorum*, and how long it was before he wrote *Miser Catulle desinas ineptire*.

The person whom Cicero accuses of having distributed the bribes he calls *Calvus ex Nanneianis*⁷ adding *illum laudatorem meum de cuius oratione erga me honorifica ad te scripseram*. Since Crassus had praised Cicero in the senate some five months before (Att. I 14, 2) he is usually assumed to be the man in question. However, several of Cicero's letters of this period have been lost and we cannot be certain therefore to whose speech he is referring, and the hypothesis that it was Crassus fails to explain the riddle of the peculiar name.⁸ If Calvus is, as it seems to be, a proper name, there would be no more plausible person than the young Licinius Calvus, the boon companion of Clodia's lover Catullus, and a friend of the Curio who was mustering these young men to Clodius' support. In that case *ex nannianis* is equivalent to *ex barbatulis*, for *barbatus* (a kind of

* Ad Att. I 14, 5 and I 16, 11.

⁴ Cf. Cic. Cat. II 22.

⁵ Pro Caelio 10.

⁶ Ad Att. I 16, 5. Cf. II 1, 5. The reference seems to be to Clodia.

⁷ Ad Att. I 16, 5.

⁸ See note in Tyrrell and Purser for various hypotheses.

container, Varro, L. L. V 119) is the same as *vāvos* or *vāvos*.⁹ If this be indeed Catullus' friend we may well believe that he and Curio and the other *iuvenes* were in this case acting in the services of Clodia, that it was at her behest that Calvus had flattered Cicero in order to entice him from the opposition, that indeed she was now as two years later directing the battle and "sounding the advance"¹⁰ for her brother. Cicero's description in the Pro Caelio of her one-time power over her hirsute devotees¹¹ will help to explain the happenings of these days. Indeed if the youngsters entered the scrimmage at Clodia's request for the sake of the lark we can understand why they so readily deserted Clodius later to become Cicero's loyal and abiding supporters.¹²

Before proceeding further it is necessary to examine the recurrent statement that Calvus was from his youth Cicero's enemy because of the latter's part in the trial of his father, Licinius

⁹Cicero in his pun may have enjoyed an implied reference to the bibulous propensities of the *comissatores*, not to mention other implications in the word *vāvos*.

¹⁰De lituis *Boetides*, Ad Att. II 12, 2.

¹¹Pro Caelio 33: hac *barbula* qua ista delectatur, also 48-50.

¹²Who the other *barbatuli* were that supported Curio and Clodius we are not told, but we may hazard the names of Caelius and Mark Antony as probably two of the *comissatores conjugationis*, since these two were early friends of Clodius and Curio besides being regarded as one-time partisans of Catiline. Antony's stepfather, Lentulus, was Catiline's chief supporter, and was put to death when the young man was about twenty. For some time Antony was also Curio's companion in his revels, and the two accumulated such debts that Cicero was called in to bring about a reconciliation between the elder Curio and the two prodigals (Phil. II 45). However, he soon disappears from our story, for after a brief season of subservience to Clodius, he saw his mistake and departed for the East. Thence he returned in 54 to enter Caesar's services in Gaul. He was at that time Cicero's friend.

Caelius who seems to have been a trifle older than Antony had studied with Cicero, but in 63 had fallen under Catiline's influence like *multi boni adolescentes*, as Cicero later remarked (Pro Caelio 10). In 62 he entered the staff of the African proconsul but may well have returned before the trial in April 61. We know that he was soon one of Catullus' best friends and that—presumably in 59—the handsome fellow became the poet's rival for the favors of Clodia. We shall later find him a close friend of Cicero's again.

Macer the historian and democratic leader. A typical expression of this erroneous belief may be cited from Plessis, *Calvus*, p. 50: "l'homme qui lui avait pris la vie et l'honneur de son père ne pouvait lui inspirer que des sentiments de répulsion." The facts seem to be as follows: In the year 66 Licinius Macer was tried on an indictment of extortion¹³ before Cicero who was then praetor, was condemned, and died immediately upon learning of his misfortune. To Cicero the situation was peculiarly difficult, because the culprit, who evidently had a bad case, was one of the foremost leaders of the democratic party to which Cicero also belonged at that time.¹⁴ To Atticus who was very much concerned about the effects of the outcome of the trial upon Cicero's political standing, Cicero, apparently on the very day of the trial, wrote (Ad Att. I 4, 2): Nos hic incredibili ac singulari *populi* voluntate de C. Macro transegimus. *Cui cum aequi fuissimus*, tamen multo maiorem fructum ex *populi* existimatione, illo condemnato, cepimus quam ex ipsius si absolutus esset gratia cepissemus. This passage seems invariably to be misinterpreted. In the first place, Boot's comment in his edition which is generally followed,¹⁵ translates the cum-clause as though it had *potuissimus*: "though I might have." Not in the whole range of Latin would it be possible to find a justification for this interpretation. It is a simple "cum-adversative" clause and means "though I *was* favorable." As a result of this misunderstanding we are told that the judge had betrayed Macer for political reasons and that as a natural result Macer's son Calvus became—what he never was—Cicero's life-long enemy. Another general error is due to the failure to see that Cicero in the trial retained the favor of his and Macer's party, for that can be the only meaning of the phrases: "Ex *populi* existimatione," and "incredibili ac singulari *populi* voluntate." What Cicero wished to explain to Atticus was this: "I have completed the trial without losing the popular good will. I was indeed favorable to him, but *despite his condemnation* I have gained more influence from popular approval than I could have gained from him

¹³ Cic. Ad Att. I 4, 2; Plut. Cic. 9; Val. Max. 9, 12, 7.

¹⁴ Cicero's defense of Cornelius in the following year in a case that was considered violently political shows that he had not yet broken with the party.

¹⁵ See Tyrrell and Purser.

and his friends had he been acquitted." In other words, the people credited Cicero with showing a friendly attitude, in the small way that a judge might, and did not blame him for the conviction. That Cicero conducted himself with propriety we may assume even without Plutarch's guarantee that "this trial was considered very creditable to Cicero as showing his careful management of the court" (loc. cit. 9). We should add that Macer's death though natural was very sudden, and it will be seen that Plutarch's detailed and circumstantial account must rest upon good authority. Why historians persist in preferring the charge of suicide given by Valerius Maximus is difficult to comprehend, especially since his account is at once discredited by the erroneous statement that Macer was not condemned, and by the fact that his story is shaped to illustrate a moral. We have therefore no ground in this incident for supposing that Calvus had reason to dislike Cicero. Quite the contrary is true.¹⁶

The next time we meet Cicero and the *juvenes*, in the spring of 59, old political combinations had been shattered by Cæsar and his triumvirate. All groups were realigning to protect their interests in the face of new dangers. The *barbatuli* were doubtless severing old ties like the rest, and to some extent separating from each other, and it is hardly to be supposed that Clodia, now that her influential husband was dead and her own reputation branded in public harangues, could wield the same power over a large group as before. But Curio again appears, and still a leader of a troop of young men, this time, however, directing his attacks against Pompey and Cæsar. To some extent the personnel of the group must have been the same as before since Cicero's first designation is *sanguinaria juvenus*¹⁷ which of course refers to *comissatores conjurationis*. The ambitious

¹⁶ Cicero's statement seems needlessly condensed and I suspect that the original may have read: *tamen <multa indicta condemnatus est, sed> multo maiorem*, etc. In that case a copyist dropped the words from *multa* to *multo* by an error common to all scribes. However, we need not resort to emendation to understand the essential point, and Cicero wrote to Atticus who knew the situation, and not for later generations.

¹⁷ Ad Att. II 7, 3.

young aristocrats of Rome had naturally discovered very quickly that the overwhelming power now wielded by Cæsar and Pompey would check the political advancement of any free lance, and they were too independent and radical to think with equanimity of having to submit to self-constituted dictators. It was after some three months of triumvirate tyranny that Curio met Cicero, who had retired to the country in disgust, and unbosomed his hatred of the *dynastæ* to him. Cicero was of course overjoyed to hear it, and from that time he usually refers to the young hot-head as *meus*. After this conversation Cicero wrote Atticus (II 7) that Curio, Megabocchus(?) and *haec sanguinaria juven-tus* were in arms against the triumvirs, a statement which he somewhat elaborated a few days later by naming Metellus Nepos and Memmius (II 12, 2). The nickname in the former letter seems therefore to refer to one of these, and I would suggest that Metellus is meant and that the word should be read *Μεγάβυλος*. It will be remembered that Metellus Nepos, Clodia's brother-in-law, had been one of Pompey's officers in the Eastern wars, that in 63 he had returned to serve Pompey's interests as tribune at Rome and had brutally insulted Cicero in the attempt (Ad Fam. V 1 and 2). Since the word *metellus* means "mercenary soldier" and Megabyzos was apparently a Greek comic character (see Stephanus) borrowed from the circle of Persian courtiers to designate a type of miles gloriosus the name would seem peculiarly appropriate to this erratic and bombastic agent of the "Arabarches" Pompey. To anticipate, we may add that Metellus' dislike of Cæsar here mentioned did much to reconcile him with Cicero so that he was ready to support the latter in the troublous times of 57.

The mention of Memmius as a friend and sympathizer of Curio is no less interesting, for he too had been a friend of Pompey's but had incurred the latter's anger apparently by intrigues with Pompey's sister-in-law Mucia. Though Memmius was older than the *barbatuli*, like many of them he dabbled in erotic verse of the new style, and presently, as proprætor of Bithynia, took two of them, Catullus and Cinna, with him on his staff (Cat. 10). For several years he united with the younger group in their assaults upon Cæsar; Suetonius (Julius 49) names him with Calvus, Curio, Dolabella, Bibulus, Brutus, and Cicero as repeating scandals about Cæsar's youthful behavior. In 58

when praetor he with Domitius attempted to hale Cæsar to court, and his speeches against him during that year are mentioned by Suetonius (ibid. 23 and 73). In the winter of 55-4, he as well as Calvus and Catullus became reconciled to Cæsar, as Cicero had been the year before.

During the spring and summer of 59 party lines shaped themselves quickly. The triumvirs found it worth their while to cajole Clodius with promises, but the younger men were left unappeased and constantly drew closer to Cicero. In *Ad Att.* II 8 Cicero relates: (Curio) narrabat incensam esse iuventutem neque ferre haec posse. Curio led the noisy revolvers and gained such popularity by it that when he entered the theatre in Cæsar's presence at the annual games of July he received an ovation of cheers (II 19, 3).

By October the young rebels had talked themselves into a frenzy, not without encouragement from Cicero who had one day dropped the characteristic remark that the time was ripe for a Brutus or a Servilius Ahala. Indeed Marcus Brutus, then only twenty (if we may believe Velleius), who traced descent from both of these tyrannicides of old, was soon mentioned as a member of the group. It is not likely that a serious plot was actually formed, but Cæsar knew well how quickly loose talk might suggest action; tyrant-baiting had often brought men fame at Rome and the young radicals would hardly be squeamish in the expression of their republicanism. At any rate, Vettius, a knight who had during the Catilinarian revolt nearly incurred ruin by an overzealous attempt to implicate Cæsar's name in that movement, now undertook again to meddle with conspiracy. Whether he suspected a plot and hoped by revealing it to set himself right with Cæsar or whether he thought the moment had come for avenging himself on Cæsar by bringing on a revolt, we cannot say. We are told that he approached Curio persistently with sanguinary proposals which the latter eventually revealed to his father, who reported them. Cæsar now made capital out of the affair and, if only to frighten the irresponsible youngsters, produced Vettius in the forum and called for a complete statement. Vettius, prompted we are told by Cæsar's henchman Vatinius, mentioned "a band of young men led by Curio,"¹⁸ and further-

¹⁸ *Manum iuventutis duce Curione. Ad Att. II 24, 2.*

more mentioned Paullus, Brutus, and Lentulus by name.¹⁹ On the next day he withdrew Brutus' ²⁰ name and added those of Laterensis and Piso, Cicero's young son-in-law, besides those of some older men; and he finally designated Cicero without using his name. As we have remarked, no real evidence of a plot was disclosed, but we may fairly conclude that Vettius could have mentioned only such persons as were known to be hostile to Pompey and Cæsar and to be on friendly terms with the alleged plotter, Curio.

Of Paullus we know little, but we learn later that he was Cicero's staunch supporter in the attacks upon Vatinius ²¹ and Gabinius, remaining his friend until the year 50 when he (as consul) and Curio deserted to Cæsar. Brutus may have been mentioned because of his inherited hostility to Pompey, but it is possible that he had close connections with the *iuventus* of which we are not informed. He too wrote verse in his youth, and he preceded Antony and Gallus in the affections of the beautiful actress, Cytheris. We know him best from the days when he associated with Cato, but his youth may have shown some traits of inheritance from his father, the revolutionist, and his none too Stoic mother, Servilia. That we hear little of him during the years following 59 is due to his protracted absence in Greek lands. Iuventius Laterensis can hardly be the youth mentioned frequently by Catullus though it is usually assumed that he was a relative since the name is rather rare.²² He had firm republican convictions throughout life. In this very year he had refused to accept office on the terms imposed by Cæsar, and finally in 43 killed himself rather than betray the cause of Cicero and the Senate.²³ Of Piso's brief life we know only that he loyally supported his father-in-law until he died in 57.

¹⁹ Cic. Ad Att. II 24; In Vat. 24-26; Plut. Luc. 42; App. B. C. III 12.

²⁰ Cicero implies that his mother Servilia had used her well-known influence over Cæsar to have this charge withdrawn.

²¹ Cic. Quint. Fr. II 4 and III 1, 15.

²² We need not assume that Iuventius in the poems of Catullus was a pseudonym, for though public opinion was not yet quite ripe for the acceptance of such verse, we have numerous indications that Catullus did not publish the collection we now have. Cf. Harnecker, *Neue Jahrb.* 133, 273; Frank, *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXXV 67 ff.

²³ Cic. Ad Att. II 18, 2; Fam. X 23, 4.

Of the "band of youth" led by Curio we have no further direct mention, but that Calvus and Catullus were with them, at least in sympathy, is quite evident. One of Calvus' most famous epigrams dealt with Cæsar's youthful escapades in Bithynia,²⁴ and we know that Bibulus popularized this story in the street-bulletins which he posted during that year.²⁵ Furthermore the taunts at Pompey's effeminate manners which Calvus turned into an epigram²⁶ were also popular in 59.²⁷ But Calvus' attitude is shown most clearly in his persistent attacks upon Vatinius who did Cæsar's menial work in the Vettius case. When Vatinius had ended his year of office so that he was subject to impeachment (Vettius was now dead), Calvus attempted to bring him to trial before Memmius, who was now praetor. Vatinius escaped only by the use of violence, driving both judge and prosecutor off the tribunal. Calvus, however, seems to have published the speech he had prepared, for his first oration against Vatinius "written when he was not much over twenty-two years of age" was still read and studied in the days of Tacitus and Quintilian,²⁸ and the poems of Catullus show that the *odium Vatinianum* of Calvus passed into a proverb. Nor did Calvus subside though foiled this once. While supporting Cicero in the defense of Sextius two years later he publicly announced that he would attack Vatinius again. The opportunity seems to have offered itself soon, and indeed his second speech was considered his best by his critics. Again in 54 though he had then become

²⁴ Cited by Suet. Jul. 49.

²⁵ *Edicta Bibuli quibus proscripsit collegam suum Bithynicam regnam, etc.* Suet. Jul. 49.

²⁶ *Digito caput uno.* Frag. P. Rom. Calvus 18. Two other lampoons of Calvus also attack persons derided by Cicero: the jibes at Curius (Frag. P. Rom. 1, cf. Asconius, Stangl, p. 72) and at Tigellius (F. P. R. 3; cf. Cic. Ad Fam. VII 24). Is it a mere coincidence that the only four lines of Calvus' epigrams that can be assigned to a definite subject express a hatred which the poet shares with Cicero?

²⁷ Cf. Dio 39, 18; Cicero mentions the *fasciae cretatae* in a letter at the end of 60, Ad Att. II 3. The mobs at Rome still harped on these things in 56: Quint Fr. II 3, 2; Plut. Pomp. 48.

²⁸ Calvus was twenty-four in 58, but Tacitus does not pretend to be very precise here. I have accepted the chronology of the speeches as arranged in Schanz I, II, p. 218. The account of the trial is given by Cicero's speech In Vat. 34, delivered in Calvus' presence.

reconciled to Cæsar, he still nourished his hatred for his old enemy and brought him to court a third time. It is difficult to escape the thought that the plot of Vettius and its manipulation by Vatinius had struck close to the deepest concerns of Calvus.

As for his friend Catullus, there is a cruel epigram of his which commentators from Scaliger to Ellis have been inclined to connect with Vettius. It is No. 98, in which the manuscripts give the otherwise unknown name Victius.

In te si in quemquam dici pote, putide Victi,
id quod verbosis dicitur et fatuis.
Ista cum lingua, si usus veniat tibi, possis
culos et crepidas lingere carpatinas.
Si nos omnino vis omnes perdere, Victi,
deiscas: omnino quod cupis efficias.

For the usual identification I can do no better than quote the note of Ellis: "The persistency with which Cicero attaches the words *index*, *indicium* to Vettius was doubtless meant to convey a slur; while the words of Catullus *ista cum lingua*, etc., find a practical commentary in Cicero's language *ibi tu indicem Vettium linguam et vocem suam sceleri et menti tuæ præbere voluisti* (In Vat. 24), just as *si nos omnino vis omnes perdere Vetti*, is well illustrated by Cicero's *civitatis lumina notasset* (ibid. 26)." Hendrickson who in Rhein. Mus. 59, 478, convincingly argues for reading *deiscas* (= *dehiscas*), rejects this identification, believing that the epigram is a representative of the same genre as Anth. Pal. II 148:

μηδὲ λαλῶν πρῶτῃν ἐστολοίκισε Φλάκκος ὁ ῥήτωρ
καὶ μᾶλλον χεῖνεν εὐθὺς ἐβαρβάρισεν.

It must be admitted that Ellis' interpretation is far from proved, but even if the epigram is modelled upon a common Greek form, Catullus' studies usually keep in touch with actual experiences, and the reference in this case seems to be not to a mere babbler or solecist. If the strong language of the epigram was justified it would seem to refer to some creature who wielded a foul and venomous tongue. We must leave the question without a decision, but we can hardly escape the conviction that the epigram well fits the personality of the reckless informer and the emotions of fear and disgust that Catullus could not but have felt when so many of his friends were for the moment involved in

extreme danger. That the danger was very real appears from Cicero's own confession (II 24, 4) that he had for a moment expected a judicial massacre: *vitae taedet: ita sunt omnia omnium miseriarum plenissima. Modo caedem timueramus, quam oratio fortissimi senis Q. Considi discusserat*; and Plutarch (Cæs. 14) shows how general was the terror.

For two years after the Vettius fiasco we hear less of the *iuvenes* partly because of Cicero's banishment, partly because several of the young men left Rome. Cicero was exiled in April, 58. Brutus went to Cyprus with Cato soon after. Curio remained at Rome doing what, with his somewhat shattered influence, he could accomplish for Cicero (Ad Fam. II 1, 2). Where Calvus was for two years after his first attack upon Vatinius we do not know. There is no speech of his mentioned that can be assigned to this period. Perhaps he retired for the time to write his *Io*. Memmius invited Catullus and Cinna to his province Bithynia in 57.

Cicero returned late in 57, and in February of 56 undertook with Calvus and others the defence of Sestius. Since this man had incurred the indictment in Cicero's service, Calvus' stand by the side of Cicero is significant of his friendship for Cicero. Furthermore when during the trial Cicero took the occasion to attack Vatinius, Calvus and Paullus both offered to bring a new indictment against the hated creature, and this pledge Calvus seems to have paid, as we have remarked above.²⁹

Cicero's next case of importance was a defence of Caelius on an indictment concocted by Clodia with whom the latter had now quarrelled. As we noticed above he had been drawn into Clodia's band of revellers after his return from Africa, or if we may believe Cicero, who abbreviates as much as possible the account of his lapse from public life, sometime after the trial of Antonius in April 59. At any rate it is likely that his pre-occupations at Baiae saved him from the Vettian entanglement.³⁰ When, then, in 57 Caelius had attempted to wrench

²⁹ This is supposed to be the occasion of the incident recorded in Catullus 53. That Catullus was socially on good terms with Sestius is apparent from Cat. 44, 10.

³⁰ See Pro Caelio 74-5. He had been a very good friend of Catullus for some time.

himself back to serious work he was summoned into court on a long list of charges that prove if nothing else the vengeful spirit and lively imagination of Clodia. Cicero laughed the charges out of court; and of course Calvus, always Catullus' best friend, was not at Cicero's side in this case. Catullus had probably not yet returned from Bithynia, but we may well suppose that on his return he read the speech with a fair degree of complacency and decided that Caelius had been sufficiently punished. At any rate the poet's later references to Caelius indicate that the two were reconciled, and both Caelius and Curio presently appear associated with the literary tendencies that were promoted by Calvus. Later in the year Cicero attacked Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, and Gabinius, Pompey's henchman, in the *De provinciis consularibus* and again in 55 gave Piso a sound drubbing in the *In Pisonem* though he had already declared his submission to the triumvirs. If, as seems likely, the "Priapus" of Catullus 47 and of 28 is this man, the poet was in hearty accord with Cicero in this attack also.²¹ During the next year Cicero, to escape further humiliation, spent most of his time at his villas in literary work, while Calvus and Catullus kept up their epigrammatic fusilade at Cæsar and Pompey and their favorites Vatinius, Mamurra and Labienus. From this time we have apparently the terribly direct:

Quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati (C. 29)

the last line of which

Socer generque perdidistis omnia

was quoted by Vergil (Catalepton 6) and seems to have been the shot that brought Cæsar to terms (Suet. Jul. 73). But there were also other stinging jibes at Mamurra (Nos. 57, 41, 43) and four equally bitter ones at Labienus, under the nickname Mentula (94, 105, 114, 115).

And here we must turn aside once more in order to justify this last identification which for some strange reason seems to have been overlooked. A glance at nos. 114 and 115 will show

²¹ Besides the arguments given by Schwabe, we may add that Catullus XIII, a dinner invitation to Fabullus, Piso's friend, is modelled upon one sent to Piso by Philodemus, Anth. Pal. XI 44, hardly a mere coincidence. Could it be that *Socratio* of Cat. 47 is a sling at Philodemus?

that the usual identification with Mamurra is impossible since the person in question is from Firmum whereas Mamurra was a native of Formiae.

1. Catullus distinctly calls the man he is attacking *Firmanus*, 114, 1. Now Cicero in *Pro Rabirio*, 22, states that Labienus was a Picentine, and Cæsar tells us that Labienus had expended large sums in building Cingulum which is in the territory of Firmum.³² Apparently his paternal estates were there.

2. From Catullus 114 and 115 we also learn that the victim of the epigram had acquired vast estates usque ad Hyperboreos et mare ad Oceanum which could only mean that Cæsar had bestowed Gallic lands upon him. This too fits the complaint of Cicero *Ad Att.* 7, 7, 6, that great wealth had been given Labienus as well as Mamurra, and the well-known passage of Dio 41, 4, that Cæsar had so enriched Labienus that he behaved as the equal of his master. To explain Catullus' phrase *fructus sumptibus exsuperat* (114, 4) we may then refer to Cæsar's statement of the expenditures upon 'Cingulum.'

3. The name Labienus the poet avoided whether because of its metrical obstinacy or in order to conceal in some measure the identity of his victim. In search for a suitable substitute his train of thought apparently ran thus: Labienus—labia—mentum, and the obvious simplicity of this seems to prove the identity correct.³³

Thus we have gained another point of common sympathy between Cicero and Catullus, for Cicero's violent attack upon Labienus in his speech *Pro Rabirio* and the later remark about

³² Cingulo, quod oppidum Labienus constituit suaeque pecunia exaedicaverat, *Bell. Civ.* I 15.

³³ If anyone should still doubt the identity, let him remember Labienus' praenomen and read *Carmen* 94 in the light of the scholia of Persius' first satire. It may be of some interest that *Carmen* 105:

Mentula conatur Pipleium scandere montem:
Musae furcillis praecipitem eiciunt.

reveals Labienus as a man of literary ambitions. We are not told what Muse he was pursuing, but it may be that, since he thought his commander did him less than justice (*Dio* 41, 4), he undertook to write a history of his own deeds. His son, the rhetorician, later wrote histories which were publicly burned for their strong support of Pompey (*Senec. Controv.* X praef. 4).

Labieni divitiae of Ad Att. 7, 7, 6 show that the two were entirely in accord here as elsewhere.

This campaign of abuse by the poets was keenly felt by Cæsar, and while he still continued to neglect Curio and Caelius he made friendly offers to both Calvus and Catullus in the winter of 55-4.⁸⁴ Cicero had already submitted to the inevitable the year before, and his two friends accepted the terms offered and sealed the pact with gentle words. But just as Cicero still for some time continued his open enmity to the subordinates, Piso, Gabinius, and Vatinius, so Calvus once more found occasion to bring an indictment against Vatinius in August of 54 (Ascon. p. 18, Clark) delivering his third oration against his inveterate enemy. This time Cicero at Cæsar's request undertook the defense, but that this act did not imply a serious disagreement between the old friends is indicated by the fact that on July 27 they labored together in the defense of Messius who had supported Cicero in the evil days of his exile.⁸⁵

I have gone thus fully into the cases of these years of confused issues for the sake of showing how thoroughly in accord the three men were. It is from this background that we must estimate the tone of Catullus' well-known lines to Cicero in Carmen 49:

Disertissime Romuli nepotum
quot sunt quotque fuere, Marce Tulli,
quotque post aliis erunt in annis,
gratias tibi maximas Catullus
agit pessimus omnium poeta,
tanto pessimus omnium poeta
quanto tu optimus omnium patronus.

There is a school of commentators, induced presumably by the modern fashion of deriding Cicero, that insists upon finding sarcasm in these lines. Many readers have in turn pointed out that a natural interpretation of every word and phrase⁸⁶ leaves

⁸⁴ Catullus 11 and 55, 6 reveal the change of tone which followed the *cena* at Verona mentioned by Suet. Jul. 73. Since Calvus defended Gaius Cato, the hateful triumvirate tribune, in July 54 (Cic. Ad Att. IV 16, 5; Ascon. p. 18 Clark), we may assume that the two made their peace with Cæsar about the same time. Indeed Suetonius mentions Calvus first.

⁸⁵ Ad Att. 4, 15, 9 and Sen. Controv. 7, 4, 8.

⁸⁶ *Disertissimus* is regularly a word of high praise. *Romuli nepotum*; cf. its elevated tone in 23, 15; 34, 22; 58, 5. *Pessimus poeta*, the poet's

no room for any cynical point. But all this is of no avail: a lampoon seems to be more interesting than a eulogy. Nevertheless if an historical review such as we have attempted reveals only friendship and community of sympathies between Cicero and these poets this fact must be considered of some account in tracking out the purport of this poem. The point of the sting, if there is one, must lie in the last line. But I think it will be agreed that from the point of view of legal ethics at Rome Cicero had steered an acceptable course in the choice of his clients up to his defense of Vatinius in August 54. He may indeed have disappointed Calvus and Catullus by his reconciliation with Cæsar in 56, the year before they took the same course, but his praise of Cæsar in the *De Prov. Cons.* could not be called the speech of a *patronus*, and they could have taken no umbrage at the only other defense of a Cæsarian of the period, Cornelius Balbus. It is very doubtful whether Catullus lived to see the defense of Vatinius—which many criticized—but even if he did, he and Calvus had then gone quite as far as Cicero in writing palinodes, and Calvus had before that act even defended the obnoxious Gaius Cato who was hateful to the whole group. It is equally difficult to find any earlier date in which to place a fling at Cicero. As we have seen he differed from the devotees of Clodia in the Clodian farce but in that case it was they, not he, that laid themselves open to a charge of instability. And we have every reason to think that there was nothing but abiding friendship between the men from 59 to 56 demonstrated in their mutual associations as well as in their common hatred towards Vatinius, Clodius, Piso, Cæsar, Labienus, and Mamurra.⁸⁷ Ca-

modesty is well illustrated in 14 b: and if the objection be raised that the repetition of the phrase implies quotation marks, it is quite possible to imagine that some Vatinius or Clodius, wounded by the poet's lampoons, had first used the phrase and that Cicero had come to the poet's defence. Such an assumption would explain the purpose of *gratias tibi maximas*. See also Harnecker, *Philol.* 41, 475, and the sane comment in Merrill's edition.

⁸⁷ Cicero and Catullus agree to a surprising extent in their opinions of those whom both happen to mention. We have already spoken of Calvus, Caelius, Cæsar, Clodius, Labienus, Mamurra, Memmius, Piso, Pollio, Pompey, Sestius, Vatinius and Vettius. To this list may be added: Arrius (Catullus 84), Nepos (1), Cornificius (38), Gellius (74), Hortensius (65), Manlius (61, see Schanz I, II 354), Nonius (52),

tullus 49 must be restored to its proper place as a genuine expression of gratitude and reverence which the modest poet always felt for the man whom he had found on his arrival at Rome the lauded hero of all Italy.

Soon after the death of Catullus new political currents began to set in. Old combinations drew apart and new ones formed around Cæsar and Pompey who in 53 began to show signs of disagreement. Cæsar, whose hold upon the imagination of young and ambitious men was always strong, pursued the policy he had disclosed in winning over Calvus and Catullus. He also made peace with Memmius and supported him for the consulship. The latter, however, bungled his part, disclosed the terms of the contract and earned nothing but banishment for his pains. Cæsar invited Mark Antony from Greece, and presently he made a place for Asinius Pollio, another, though younger, friend of Catullus, Cinna, and Cicero.³⁸ Caelius was still under a cloud and could for the present be neglected, but he travelled the same road in 50. Curio had useful qualities but Cæsar thought he might well be tamed by a season of neglect.³⁹ Besides Cicero who had always retained a strong hold upon the young man engaged his services⁴⁰ in 53 as campaign manager for Milo, thus retaining him for a while with the group friendly to the Senate. But when Curio became tribune in 50, Cæsar came to terms with him. Paullus also, who had nibbled at the bait of generous loans as early as 55, is said to have sold out during his consulship in the same critical year of 50. Cæsar wanted Brutus also but the influence of the latter's relatives, Cato and Claudius, apparently saved him for the conservative party. Cicero, ultimately threw

Valerius Cato (56). The identity has not in every case been established with certainty but so far as Schwabe and Ellis are able to supply the facts, the poet and the orator seem to be nearly of the same opinion in all instances.

³⁸ See Cat. Carm. 12; Cinna's Propempticon, and Cic. Ad Fam. I 6, 1, written in 56 when Pollio was about 20.

³⁹ Cic. Fam. 8, 4, 2.

⁴⁰ When Curio was in the East in 53 Cicero wrote him how he missed their *jucundissima consuetudo*, Fam. II 1. The letters of the same year written after the death of Curio's father, show that Cicero then considered himself privileged to stand in *loco parentis* to the young man. The reference to Milo is found in Fam. II 6, 4; *Dux nobis et auctor opus est*.

in his lot with Pompey, though very grudgingly, and he never severed cordial relations with the young friends⁴¹ who chose to follow Cæsar.

The civil war came on in 49, and after a world-rending struggle of eighteen months, Pompey met his death, and most of the senatorial leaders who remained submitted to Cæsar. Curio and Caelius had both fallen in hot-headed ventures, Calvus lived on for a brief period, apparently till 46,⁴² and Cicero retired to a life of literary seclusion. He found, now that he had time for thought, that the world of letters was drifting away from his leadership, that his own ideals of an artistic prose style in particular were falling upon evil days and that a school of directer expression was winning ever more adherents.⁴³ A typical expression of this impatience on the part of the very young against the ample and leisurely style is Vergil's youthful outburst (Catal. V) :

Ite hinc inanes ite *rhetorum ampullae*
inflata rheso non *Achaico* verba.

That pointed rejection of the *ampullae* for the Attic style was probably written in the year 47,⁴⁴ by a devoted believer in Cæsar and an admirer of Calvus and Catullus. Cicero was perhaps too near himself and his age to realize what was changing the trend, but to us who have lived through a harrowing world war, it seems only natural that a change in literary ideals was inevitable in those years of revolution and distress. The new world was growing impatient at words. Responding to his disturbing discovery Cicero began to formulate his opinions which he published in the *Brutus* in 46 and in the *Orator* and the *De Optimo Genere Oratorum* which quickly followed. Calvus and Brutus soon ex-

⁴¹ In 49 he corresponded with Curio and Caelius though they were in Cæsar's camp, and for a few days he seems to have entertained thoughts of inducing them to revolt to Pompey. See Ad Att. X 10 and 12, and Class. Phil. 1919, 287.

⁴² See Sternkopf, Neue Jahrb. 1893, 432.

⁴³ Cicero states more than once that the Atticists did not succeed in drawing a crowd (cf. *Brutus* 289), but if this be true it may be due to the fact that in these strenuous times men had something else to do than gather about the tribunals. The complete victory of the new school is evidence of its power to satisfy the demands of the time.

⁴⁴ See Vergil's Apprenticeship, Class. Phil. 1920.

pressed their dissent from the principles laid down by Cicero, and a friendly controversy ensued.⁴⁵ How Cæsar expressed himself we do not know but we could make a fair conjecture regarding the "philological" table talk during Cæsar's famous visit to Cicero in 45 (*Ad Att.* 13, 52). In this controversy Cicero was doomed by his long years of practice to vote against the inevitable trend, but in his judgment on poetry he had less at stake, and could feel with the post-bellum generation when it turned against the poets of the ante-bellum decade.

There is no need to discuss here the origin of the theories that lay behind the disputation nor have I any desire to belittle possible influences of the Greek text-books and teachers that had long discussed the relative merits of Athenian orators. Calvus himself insisted that he was consciously following the practice of Attic orators (*Brut.* 284) while Cicero hinted that this argument was an afterthought assumed to hide limitations of power.⁴⁶ Cicero in turn makes it plain that the most characteristic quality in his own style had its source in natural predilections and that his rhetorical training provided a check rather than an essential ingredient (*Brutus* 316). I have called attention to the part apparently played by the war simply because men of affairs, as all of these men were, generally react to daily experiences rather than to bookish rules in their manner of expression; and in this case it is apparent that the controversy about theoretical principles arose after the disputants had formed their characteristic styles in the hurly-burly⁴⁷ of the law courts. For our present purpose the main point is that even here there was no shadow of enmity between Cicero and Calvus. When the latter had died, and Trebonius in reference to the epistolary controversy asked Cicero why he had praised Calvus so highly, Cicero answered: I did so partly because it is a good principle to encourage the

⁴⁵ Now that we can date *Ad Fam.* 15, 21 late in 46 or early in 45 we can secure a reasonable chronology for Cicero's controversy with Calvus and Brutus mentioned by Tacitus, *Dial.* 18.

⁴⁶ *Tusc. Disp.* II 3. The correspondence between Calvus and Cicero made up a corpus of at least three books.

⁴⁷ Hendrickson, *Class. Phil.* I, p. 97, has proved that the controversy over purity of diction was a significant part of the discussion and that there are evidences of diversity of opinion on this point as early as 55 B. C.

man you criticize, but also because *de ingenio ejus valde existimavi bene*, Ad Fam. 15, 21, 4. Thus vanishes the "life-long hatred" between the two men.

As we have remarked Cicero also lived to see a similar change of attitude toward the dominating poetry of the decade that preceded the war, but being less concerned with verse he was able to respond to the new taste while the younger men—they were largely the very same group—were the ones who suffered from the reaction. It was of course not against the simple directness of such verse as Catullus' lyrics that the experiences of the war awakened a revulsion. Had these *poetae novi* applied the basic principles of Attic art to all their verse-writing as Catullus at least did in some of his *nugae* they might have fared better. But the preciousness of diction, the disregard of proportion in their purple-patch narratives, the affectation in metrical devices culled from Alexandria, and perhaps most of all the strained sentimentality of the erotic content were marks of a decadent trend that seems to have affected a large body of the epyllia produced in the decade before the war. Any severe shock that would bring Rome back to appreciate the realities of life was bound to open a volume of criticism at such tendencies. Cicero had himself been temporarily carried away by these enticing vices. He had played at composing epyllia, and had even gone the length of dabbling in the Alexandrian form that Catullus practiced in the Iuventus group, verses which his detractors wilfully distorted into records of personal experience.⁴⁸ Some of this he doubtless did in the days when he was associating with the iuventus whose moods he could so well appreciate and reproduce.⁴⁹ Cicero utters not a word of objection during the decade when he stood close to the group. At the end of the year 50 on his return from Cilicia he drops a goodnatured remark about the spondaic lines of the neoteri.⁵⁰ In and after the third year of the war when he had begun his controversy with the Atticists he also revealed at times that he was not fully in accord with the poetic practices of the *poetae novi*⁵¹ who were to some extent the same men. But he

⁴⁸ For the amusing gullibility of Pliny on this point see Epist. VII 4, 3-6.

⁴⁹ See Pro Caelio 40-42.

⁵⁰ Ad Att. 7, 21.

⁵¹ Tusc. Disp. 3, 45; Cic. Or. 161 and 68.

apparently did not care to enter into a controversy on the subject.

Vergil shows what seems to be a similar reaction in the poem cited above. In his schooldays he had fallen under the influence of the neoterici as the Ciris⁵² and some of the Catalepton show, but in the days of stress his eyes were opened. In the fifth Catalepton in which he bids farewell to the *rhethorum ampullae* of his old-fashioned schoolmasters he also shuts the door on the Muses though grudgingly, ending with the significant invitation:

tamen meas chartas
revisitote, sed *pudenter* et raro.

It was a chastened muse that returned, and it was not a mere accident, and surely not merely the influence of literary models, that led the greater poets of the next generation to realize the high calling of literature in sane and dignified work. Vergil and Horace were just old enough in their schooldays to feel the charm of the gifted group that held Rome in thrall before the crash of 49, but they also lived through the harrowing decade that followed, old enough to read the lessons of life it afforded, and their subsequent work proves how penetratingly they had read.

To conclude, it would seem that the band of iuvenes who in political matters frequently gathered about Curio between 61 and 55, the *poetae novi* best represented by Calvus and Catullus and the Atticists who accepted the leadership of Calvus were to a greater extent than is generally assumed one and the same circle, that this group had very close personal relations with Cicero from the year 59 until its more important members died, and that the diversity of literary opinions between Cicero and the group came to a conscious expression only through the exigencies of the civil war.

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⁵² See Vergil's Apprenticeship, Class. Phil. 1920, on the Vergilian authorship of these poems.

IV. DECLENSION EXPONENTS AND CASE ENDINGS

Despite all the obloquy and suspicion that has attached for some years past to the agglutinative theory in its application to Indo-European grammar no competent student in that field doubts, I suppose, that the augment *e-* was a legitimate word (call it particle if you will) of the mother speech; nor that the imperative ending *-tōd* (in OLat. *legitod*) was a form of an IE. pronoun meaning thence or there. In the Latin (and Celtic) future *-bo* was certainly once an independent word and meant I become (or am).¹

The augment *e* was a deictic adverb meaning something like here or there. I say something like because our modern English is poor in deictics and *e* may have been functionally near 'that' as well as 'there.' The augment *e* is not to be separated from the so-called preposition *ē/ō*, rendered by Brugmann as quasi *dar* (Gr. 2. 2, § 634). This *e* I have also identified with the vocative ending of the *o*-declension and (chiefly in adverbs) as an instrumental-locative ending (see AJPh. 37. 167²; 179 § 28). On the vocative-locative relation see Barnum's Grammatical Fundamentals of Innuït, pp. 89 sq. In IE. sobriquets of the (Robin) Red-Breast type (vocative) *e* (deflected to *o*) passed into a usage (in the subsequently developed paradigm) which legitimates our conception of it as a stem (AJPh. 38. 84 § 5). In Shakespeare's

O you hard hearts, you cruel men of Rome

as well as in the taunt of the naughty children to Elisha

Go up, thou Bald Head

the entire genesis of the IE. compound proper name of Bāhu-vrihi type stands clear to view. By way of illustration, if we

¹ Apropos of my identification in JAOS. 34. 331 sq. of the type of the Sanskrit genitive plural *asmākam* (of us) with Lat. *meum*, I may be permitted to cite from a written communication of that highly conservative scholar, Professor Wackernagel (dated Basel, 11. IX. 15): "ich beglückwünsche sie zu der schönen für mich überzeugenden deutung von *asmākam* u. genossen."—I here add that if Av. *atvā-kam* means simul it deserves the etymological rendering of unā cum.

put (Robin) Red-Breast into the (Latin for) IE. vocative **Rufepectes* (red-there breast) the combination would yield (after the initial vocative accent), in accord with the normal principles of IE. phonology, **Rúfopectes*, whence a secondary nominative **Rufopectēs*. The vocative of Sk. *máhi* (IE. *i*, cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1. § 102. 2) certainly appears in the two Rig Veda vocatives *māhenadi* (O Big-river) and *māhemate* (magnanimous).

The thematic vowel, then, so far as it appears in noun compounds, will be the independent IE. deictic *e* (deflected to *o*), starting as a vocative exponent.

We are warranted, on the evidence of several IE. tongues, in positing the deictics *i* and *ū* (?*ū*). We have *i* in *οἶος-ι* and in Lat. *qui* (from *quo* + *i*) and *i* in the well-known locative ending; also in the vocative of *i*-stems. In Indo-Iranian, deictic *u* attaches itself enclitically, with the force of Lat. *quidem*, to pronouns (and infinitives). As *-e*, deflected to *-o*, eventually yielded the thematic vowel of the *o*-declension, so the deictics *i* and *u*, functioning first as vocatives then as declension exponents (see AJPh. 38. 230), will have yielded the *i*- and *u*-² declensions. A precise differentiation of *e/o* *i* *u* it were rash to essay, but Lat. *hic* (ego-deictic) *iste* (tu-deictic) and *ille* present one line of possible differentiation (by proximity), though the real difference may have turned on mobility³ (static vs. mobile); or on contrast between the living and non-living, general or particular, personal or impersonal, or on some remoter factor like those exhibited in the 17 Bantu categories. Note the variation between *o* and *i* in Lat. *animus: exanimis* and, conversely, in Skr. *dr̥ci-* (cf. *dr̥c-*): *-dr̥ca-*. As

² Here I raise the question whether the locatives *οἶκει* and *οἶκος* contain the sum of the deictics *e/o* + *i*; and whether in the *i*-declension the locative in *-εῖ* contains the sum of *i* + *i*. Or was *-εῖ* (cf. Lat. *ei*, the interjection) a separate deictic? A like question arises even more pointedly for the vocatives in *-ei* and *-eu*, competing with *-i* and *-u* vocatives. If *-εῖ* in the vocative is synchytic (cf. the feminine vocative in *-αι*, AJPh. 38. 85), or if IE. *ei* was a different cry to *i*, then no such relation as what we call gradation genetically obtains between the competing vocative endings; i. e. no relation comparable to the gradation in *λεῖπω* and *λεῖπός*: like effects, but different causes.

³ If the note be one of mobility, the deictic *i* will hardly be different from the root *i*, to go.

regards the welding of *e i u* with shorter, let us say, root, nouns like *d̄r̄c-*, we may note how in Basque the deictic word *a*, equivalent to the English definite article, is joined to *zald̄i*, horse, yielding *zald̄ia*, the horse. As evidence of alternation of *o* and *i* deictics we may cite trite examples such as Lat. *agilis*: Sk. *ajir̄á*, περκνός: Sk. *p̄r̄c̄ni*, ὁμαλός χαμαλός: Lat. *similis humilis*. Add Lat. *pronus*, fem. *pronis* (Varro), Sk. *arká/arc̄i* (:monosyllabic *árc̄o*), *gh̄r̄n̄á/gh̄r̄ni*, ἀπ̄σ̄t̄h̄á/i-, Av. *āt̄a/i*. For *o/i/u* I note Av. *raox̄ēna/i/u*, Sk. *k̄r̄id̄á/í/ú*; for *ī/ū* Sk. *p̄m̄ṣ̄cat̄ī/ū*, cf. *k̄ir̄i/k̄ār̄ú*. It is certainly an attractive notion that in Av. *raox̄ēna raox̄ēni raox̄ēnu* (cf. also *raox̄ēnā* = Lat. *Luna*) the *a i u* designated lights at different distances.

The IE. Dative.—The Latin interjection *ei* (see fn. above) is certainly not to be separated from Av. *āi* (with vocative). Bartholomae also recognizes *āi* after an accusative as a preposition (*anāp̄m āi* = desertwards). From this *āi* I infer IE. *ēi*, deflected to *ōi*, as the source of the dative of the IE. *o*-declension.—Systematically, we should assign to an *i*-stem like Sk. *arc̄i* an IE. dative in *ēi*, though the form might rather have originated with a monosyllabic stem like Sk. *árc̄o*. The deflected variant in *ōi* we should assign to an *o*-stem like Sk. *arká*, but it were well to recognize a period of, shall I say, heteroclis, prior to the organization of the declensions.—As Av. *āi* (towards) explains the terminal dative, even better Av. *āi*: Lat. *ei* explains the emotional dative (cf. CQ. 5. 195 § 33).

In Greek the interjection *ai* corresponds with Lat. *ei*, and exhibits the vowel color of the dative in the IE. consonant declension. This deictic and emotional *ai* supplies an ideal source for the IE. imperative-infinitive,—the Latin exclamatory infinitive; cf. Od. 24, 376, *ai γάρ . . . τοῖος ἔων* (nominative!) . . . *τεύχε' ἔχων ὁμοῖσιν, ἐφ̄εσ̄τάμεναι* (= *utinam stetissem*). With the infinitive of exclamation the Latin historical infinitive (nominative subject) in impassioned narrative should be combined (infinitive of excitement). In the expression of emotion language is at its earliest. The cry long antedated the word.

Other deictics severally entered into combination with nouns (rootnouns) and developed other cases. In Oscan we have *es**⁴

*One may wonder if the movable *s* that plays so large a rôle with roots is a deictic, originally functioning somewhat as the augment *a*.

and *is* (= Lat. *is*) in *es-idum* / *is-idum* (= Lat. *idem*). Who wills may call *es* and *is* nominatives of the "stems" *e* and *i*, but to my mind *es* (subsequently deflected to *-os*) and *is* are precasuals, and it by no means follows that they are extensions of the "roots" *e* and *i*.

What subsequently became the accusative will have developed from the deictic *ēm/ōm*, extant in Greek in the interjection *ἦν*, *ecce* (Lat. *ēn* is probably borrowed; cf. *h-em*). We have *em* in the "reduplicated" Sanskrit accusatives *im-ām* (hunc) and *am-ūm* (illum), for which I miss in Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2 pp. 327, 343, due reference to AJPh. 20, 160; though in fact, in a genetic and chronological regard, in calling *am* a particle the first edition of the Grundriss was the correcter. The IE. deictic *em* (there) is the source of the IE. preposition *en*,⁵ with proethnic *n* from *m* before dentals, and especially in the words *ens* (whence *eis*) and *enter*⁶ (Lat. *inter*). The disyllabic form *eni* (:ni) will owe its *n* to composition forms with *eny-* (*ny-*). From the deictic sense of *em* came the prepositional senses of *to by at in on*.

From the deictic *ēm/ōm*⁷ at least two case forms developed,

⁵ But Lat. *em*, there, is, in whole or in part, from the IE. locative *esmi*, see CP. 10. 338.

⁶ I agree with Bartholomae, Gr. Ir. Phil. 1. 61, that the Indo-European nasals were homorganic, save where recomposition was in play, as later in Lat. *adem*<*p*>*tus* and the Germanic words with *mþ*. Bartholomae has duly accounted for Lith. *dėsimi(is)*, ten, as containing *m* after a lost Baltic equivalent of Lat. *decimus*. His further notion that *szimtas*, hundred, has followed the cue of *dėsimi* gains in probability when we set *dėszimtas*, decimus ille, alongside of *szimtas*, centesimus ille. One may also wonder whether from an IE. primate *em kntom* (:ē-karor, one hundred), spoken as two words, we may not derive, prior to the Baltic change of *-m* to *-n*, a pre-Lithuanian **sim* (? or *sim*<*p*>) **szintas* whence, with assimilation of spirants and nasals, haplological *szim[szim]tas*. Further, Lithuanian was full of recomposed infinitives in *-mti(s)*. Supposing a time of shift in these infinitives from *-inti(s)* to *-imti(s)*, the replacement of *nt* by *mt* may have carried over to *szimtas*. Possibly in *gentis*, kinsman, *nt* (from proethnic *mt*) escaped this general recomposition, for the root is in fact the root of *gemā*, I am born (cf., with due modifications, Schleicher, Lit. Hdbch. p. 116).

⁷ If Meillet is right (see MSL. 9. 365; not disproved by Hermann, KZ. 41. 16) proethnic *-n* yielded in Latin and Sanskrit *-m*. On this supposition we may write our deictic as IE. *ēn/ōn*.

viz. the accusative singular and the genitive plural. By case we mean primarily relation; only secondarily did relation become associated with form. How very fluid remained the association with form may be realized by any one who will look over the tale of mixed cases—I often find myself wondering if anybody can think of the cases as having ever been unmixed, or less mixed—as cast up by Audouin in his valuable *Déclinaison dans les Langues Indo-Européennes*. In point of relation, dissociated from form, the prius of a compound is absolutely fluid and stands in any conceivable grammatical commerce with its posterius. Formally, all that the prius amounts to is an invariable (the “stem”) firmly fixed before the posterius. Their mutual relation (or “case”) is a mere inference. The only solid fact is the rigid juxtaposition. As we legitimately analyze syntactic relations by assuming parataxis, so by parataxis case-relations may be restored, anticipated, realized. From the deictic *es/os* we may illustrate the rise of the genitive^a as well as of the nominative: from IE. *n(e)r-os pō(d)s* (man-there foot) came *ἀνδρὸς πὺς* (man’s foot); from IE. *neros* (*?noros*)^b *peteti* (man-there falls) came Skr. *narah patati* (the man falls). From IE. *ped(e)m p̥wyo* (foot-there I strike) came Lat. *pedem p̥vio*; cf. *ποδῶν* (gen. plur.) *ἔλαβον*, (by) the feet I seized (note in Gothic the gen. pl. in *ē[m]*, as in *fadrē*). If the “accusative” was originally a word followed by *ēm/ōm* (there; at in on by etc.), then the transitive type “I strike the table” did not originally differ from “I strike on the table.” The competition of accusative (*-em/om*) and genitive (*-ōm/ēm*) is especially significant in their exclamatory usage (Latin accusative, Greek genitive), wherein the ending will have had the exclamatory note of *ἦν*, lo! In Indo-Iranian the deictic *ēm* (as well as *e*) is attached to locatives (see Brugmann Gr. 2. 2, § 177. 2 for examples).

The restoration of the prepositional force of *-em* is particularly significant for the terminal accusative, which Varro (L. L. 8. 16) divined to be the accusative *par excellence*. By our

^a See also Bull. Univ. Texas, no. 263 § 99 sq.

^b See Bull. § 104. The o-grade nouns like *dhoros* have secondary deflection; cf. *νέος*, new, with the e-vocalism that one expects in a noun that never functioned as a posterius: also note e-grade of *φέρων* etc.

analysis, *dom-um* yields *house-there* (to the house, in aedes). In reverse order, *ἔν-δον* is *there-house* (in the house, in aedibus); IE. *dom* (deflected, I take it, in vocalization from original *dem*) is a word, uninflected, and prior to inflection as we now conceive it.

Postscript. My colleague, Professor Prokosch, who has been good enough to read this paper critically, calls my attention to the following analogies. (1) The Magyar definite nominatives as in *savam savad sava* "the word," as spoken by me, by you, by some one else: such forms are clear compounds of root nouns with the personal pronouns *en te ő*. The 15 Finnish and 18 Magyar cases, and (I add) the Osmanli cases as well, are really nothing but loose combinations of root nouns with deictic (prepositional) elements. (2) Roumanian—remotely imitative of Finno-Ugrian types—has suffixed Lat. *illum* to form its nouns, e. g. *regul*, the king, from *regem illum*. (3) In Balto-Slavic "the new house" was at first a clear three-word group (it still is nearly so in Lithuanian): *novū jī domū*. In Old Slavic, this has become a two word group with agglutination of the demonstrative element: *novū(j)ī (novyjī) domū*, but in all modern Slavic languages this has become a standardized 'inflected' form (although Russian has practically retained the old spelling), which, without historical proof, could not be detected as agglutinating: Czech, *nový nového novému* etc. In Balto-Slavic, the process . . . stopped with the adjective. But in Old Norse the development went its way somewhat similarly to the way that it may be supposed to have gone in IE.: The deictic pronoun *enn* was at first added to an adjective following its noun: *Eirekr enn rauðr* 'Eric the Red'; but soon it came to be felt as a part of the noun, not of the adjective, and thus we have the 'postpositive' article, amounting to an inflectional ending, in modern Norse: *Manden, konen, barnet*, 'the man, the woman, the child.'"

"I believe then, that, according to your proof, IE. case endings were deictic elements, which became 'agglutinated' as in Finno-Ugrian; this group remained in that stage; in its later mingling with IE. languages, it reintroduced certain elements of that morphological process into them, and thus we can witness, in historical times, a repetition of a small part of the development of IE. inflection."

In modern Persian (for a reference to this fact I am indebted to Professor H. C. Tolman), *-i* (some case form of the demonstrative stem of OPersian *hya-*, see Horn, Gr. Ir. Phil. I 2 § 53*b*), as it occurs in such a turn as *pišar-i swalik* (= father-the king's), has become a virtual exponent of the subsequent genitive. One wonders, in the face of *sag-i man* (dog-the of me), whether the *ε-* of Greek *ἐμοῦ* (of me) may be the IE. deictic *e*.

In further illustration of the suffixation of the article I note Semitic *malik-u*, wherein deictic *u* functions, or is believed to function, as a nominative exponent (see reference in Bull. Univ. Texas, No. 283, § 105).

P. S.—For variation of the deictics *i* and *ū* cf. *ἐνί* (*eis*) with Sk. *ānu* (Latine, *in* c. acc.). With the epithet of Ares *Ἐνν-άλιος* (quasi Insiliens) cf. Lat. *Salii*; for *ū* cf. Sk. *anū-kāṛā*. *Ἐννός* will be a back formation.

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V. THE WANDERING SKULL: NEW LIGHT ON TANTRĀKHYĀNA 29

When Professor Bendall published his essay on the Tantrākhyāna,¹ he reported a number of tales represented in that collection by only their catch verses and a few fragmentary lines of prose. To one such story, No. 29, he gives the heading, 'A merchant finds his wife's skull on a desert shore,' and its verse reads:

Jātimātro daridrasya daśavarṣaṁ ca bandhanam
samudramadhye maraṇaṁ punaḥ kiṁ kiṁ bhaviṣyati.

By his very birth a poor man; imprisonment for ten years;
Death in the middle of the ocean; afterwards something
will happen.

He adds the comment: 'This is a mere fragment of a few lines. Dr. Sergius d'Oldenburg has called my attention to the South Indian tale published by Pandit Natesa in the Ind. Antiquary for Sept., 1884, where the verse is nearly the same.'

In the MS. of Tantrākhyāna verses published by Hertel² there is no new light on this verse and the story to which it refers. There are a few variations in the reading of the text, jātimātro daridrasya of pāda a being replaced by jātamātro daridraś ca, and kiṁ kiṁ of pāda d by kiṁcid.

The story of Pandit Natesa which Bendall mentions is in brief as follows:³

A soothsayer, on his deathbed, recites the following Sanskrit verse as the fortune of his son Gaṅgādhara:

Janmaprabhṛti dāridryaṁ daśa varṣāṇi bandhanam
Samudratīre maraṇaṁ kiṁcid bhogaṁ bhaviṣyati.

¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, new series vol. 20 (1888), p. 465.

² Das Pañcatantra, p. 315, and p. 334 where he discusses this verse.

³ Indian Antiquary 13, p. 256; also published in Natesa Sastri's Folklore in Southern India I, p. 9; and in his Indian Folk-Tales, p. 8; and in Kingscote and Natesa Sastri, Tales of the Sun, p. 11.

This would seem to mean, 'From birth poverty, ten years of imprisonment, death on the seashore, and then there will be some happiness.' The son sets out on a pilgrimage to Benares. On the way he rescues from a well a tiger, a snake, and a rat, all Rajas of their species, and, in spite of their warnings, a goldsmith, always considered a bad character in India. Ten years later on his return he comes to the same well. He thinks of the tiger, who at once appears and presents him with the crown of a king he has just slain. In like manner the snake and the rat come to him with tokens of their gratitude. Anxious to realize the value of the crown, he takes it to the goldsmith, who lives nearby. The latter recognizes it at once as that of the King of his own city, who has just disappeared, and basely betrays his former benefactor as the murderer. Convicted by circumstantial evidence, Gaṅgādhara is cast into prison where he would have perished of starvation but for the food brought him by the rats at the command of their Raja. Meanwhile the snakes and the tigers play havoc with the lives of the subjects of the unjust King who did not make proper investigation of Gāṅgādhara's case. Day by day the people die in large numbers, while Gaṅgādhara continually declares that if given the opportunity he can stop the ravages of the tigers and snakes. Not until ten years have passed, however, and the King's daughter is on the point of death from snakebite, is he heeded. Then, at last, he is released, and calling to him the tiger and the snake Rajas has them revive the dead. His innocence is proclaimed, and he is promised the hand of the Princess. The goldsmith is thereupon seized and is about to be punished, but Gaṅgādhara generously forgives him. Our hero now sets out for home, but unintentionally takes a road that passes by the side of the sea. Unexpectedly he meets his brother, who has come to look for him, and his joy at the encounter is so excessive that it kills him. His brother has no place to keep the corpse in this strange country, and entrusts it to Gaṇeṣa, who has a temple nearby. The god leaves it in the care of the Gaṇas, and they, like incontinent children, unable to resist a tempting delicacy, devour it.⁴ Later when the brother asks for the body, Gaṇeṣa is unable to produce it, but he escapes the brother's taunts of untrustworthiness by restoring the dead Gaṅgādhara.

⁴ I know no parallel for this incident in Hindu fiction.

to life, and thus returns more than he received. All live happily ever afterwards. The correct interpretation of the old sooth-sayer's prophecy now appears. Kimcid in pāda d should be construed with maraṇam not with bhogam; and the meaning of the entire verse is: 'From birth poverty; ten years of imprisonment; by the seashore death for a little while; then there will be happiness.'*

Altho this story is built around a variant of the *śloka* that appears in Tantrākhyāna 29, it shows no similarity to the story of which Bendall gives us a hint when he says, 'A merchant finds his wife's skull on a desert shore.' On the contrary, it is a combination of two stories, both foreign to the Tantrākhyāna tale: first, the ancient and widespread tale of the Grateful Animals and the Ungrateful Man;† and, second, a story illustrating the inevitability of fate, no matter how impossible of realization its provisions may seem. This second story, which tells how the body was consumed and later restored and endowed with life, bears an incomplete resemblance to the story of Saṁdhimati, found in Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī II 65-119, where a variant of our verse occurs. King Jayendra had a trusted minister named Saṁdhimati, whom, however, jealous courtiers persuaded him to reduce to disgrace and poverty. At this time a mysterious report spread from house to house, 'To Saṁdhimati will belong the kingdom.' When he heard this, the King threw Saṁdhimati into prison, where he remained for ten years. At this time the

* Pandit Natesa gives us to understand that this story is a folk-tale, but such is not the case. It is obvious that a story built around a Sanskrit *śloka* and a trick interpretation thereof could not have been secured from the oral tradition of a Tamil-speaking people. It is in reality a translation from literature as are others of Pandit Natesa's stories; for example, story No. 13 in Kingscote and Natesa Sastri, Tales of the Sun, which is a translation of the 16th century Tamil romance, the Alakeswara Katha (see W. A. Clouston, A Group of Eastern Romances, translated from the Persian, Tamil, and Urdu, Introduction, p. xxix).

† Pūrṇabhadra's Pañcatantra I. 9; for further references see Hertel, Das Pañcatantra pp. 114, 135, 269, 305, 308, 322, 343, 371, and 424; Benfey, Pantschatantra I, pp. 193 ff.; Chauvin, Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes II, p. 106 (Chap. 17); Chavannes, Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues I, p. 87; and my paper in the Journal of the American Oriental Society 39, p. 28.

King felt his own death approaching and was unwilling to die while Saṁdhimati was yet alive; and therefore had him impaled. When Saṁdhimati's guru (spiritual adviser), named Īśāna, heard of this, he repaired to the cemetery to perform the proper funeral rites. On arriving there he found that wolves had eaten all the flesh of the body and nothing was left but the skeleton, which he removed from the stake. As he was about to perform the funeral rites, he saw this verse written on the forehead by Vidhātṛ (Fate):⁷

Yāvaj jivam daridratvaṁ daśa varṣāṇi bandhanam
śūlasya prṣṭhe maraṇam punā rājyaṁ bhaviṣyati.

[Rājatarāṅginī II, 90.]

As long as life lasts, poverty; imprisonment for ten years;
Death on the point of the stake; and yet there will be
sovereignty.

Īśāna recognized that three parts of the prophecy had been fulfilled, and he anxiously watched the skeleton, feeling that the fourth would prove true also, altho just how he could not conjecture. One night he saw the cemetery filled with Yoginīs (witches), and noticing that the skeleton had been displaced by them he went, sword in hand, to investigate. There he saw the Yoginīs, intoxicated with drink and lustful for a man, provide the skeleton with flesh from their own bodies, and a *membrum virile* secured from somewhere or other. Then by magic they attracted the spirit of Saṁdhimati, which was still roaming about without having entered another body, and spent the rest of the night sporting with him. As dawn drew near Īśāna, fearing that the Yoginīs would remove the heavenly body they had given Saṁdhimati, approached with a shout, and they fled, leaving Saṁdhimati whole. This affair became known to the people, and they made Saṁdhimati king, whereby the fourth part of the prophecy came true.

While this legend is connected both by subject matter and by catch verse with that translated by Natesa, it too is not related

⁷ In India it is believed by the Hindus that at a child's birth Vidhātṛ writes its fortune on its forehead. Another common belief is that the sutures of a person's skull indicate his fortune (see in the story quoted below).

to Tantrākhyāna 29. Hertel, however, who was apparently acquainted neither with Kalhana's story nor with the story that is really attached to our verse in the Pañcatantra cycle, posits Natesa's story as that belonging to the Tantrākhyāna, and wishes to ignore the prose comment of Bendall's MS. which, he says, has resulted from the commentator's lack of familiarity with the tale—provided Bendall has not misunderstood his text. This bold assumption is quite without warrant, as I shall immediately proceed to show.

In an oral tale from the Himalayas reported by G. D. Upreti * we read as follows:

Once a Pandit found a human skull on which the under-noted inscriptions (sutures) appeared: 'This man will remain in poverty during the whole of his life, and undergo ten years of imprisonment; after this he will die on the banks of the ocean; what will become of him hereafter no one knows.'⁹ The Pandit, who understood the divine writing, felt curious about the ultimate fate of the skull, since the other things indicated by the prophecy had already transpired and he was unable to test their accuracy by comparing them with the real events of the man's life. He kept the skull carefully in a safe, until one day his wife found it, and suspected it of being that of a co-wife who had died many years before. In a fit of jealousy she threw it into a latrine, believing that when a person's bones are thus defiled the spirit remains forever in Hell.¹⁰ When this unexpected termination of the skull's history was related to the Pandit, he was convinced that the entire prophecy had been correct.

This story, says Upreti, is told to explain the proverb, 'Agre kiṃ kiṃ bhaviṣyati (In the end what will happen?).' This is apparently the reading in pāda d of the verse contained in his version, that is, the prophecy as he translates it above.

It is true that the oral version of a story is rarely of any value in determining the character of the literary versions of the same tale, but it seems in this instance that the story reported by

* Proverbs and Folklore of Kumaun and Garhwal, p. 63.

⁹ This is almost an exact translation of the Tantrākhyāna verse.

¹⁰ The fate of the skull is paralleled in a Gujerati folk-tale, Indian Antiquary 21, p. 46. I suspect this story of being a garbled and fragmentary version of that found in Upreti.

Upreti throws considerable light on that so fragmentarily preserved in the Tantrākhyāna. First of all the pure Sanskrit of the proverb which the oral story illustrates indicates that the story itself has but recently come to the folk from literature; while at the same time the prophecy of the skull's fate is so good a translation of the Tantrākhyāna verse that it seems certain we are dealing with the same verse. Further, the 'stage properties' presented to us in the remark Bendall makes concerning the Tantrākhyāna story—a merchant, his wife, a skull, and a desert shore—are almost identical with those of the oral tale.¹¹ To be sure, Bendall's brief comment would indicate a different plot from that preserved in Upreti's story, but this difference may arise from the fragmentary character and consequent obscurity of the prose lines preserved in the Tantrākhyāna text, in which case the comment would be only conjectural. Last of all, the locality in which the oral story was collected—Kumaun or Garhwal—is immediately adjacent to Nepal, the home of the Tantrākhyāna; and the literary tale can easily have passed into the popular lore without pursuing a long geographical journey.¹²

It is apparent, however, that Upreti's story is not complete in itself. There is a glaring deficiency in that no account is given of the adventures of the skull before it came to the Pandit. From birth a poor man, imprisonment for ten years, death on the banks of the ocean—how did these things transpire? The answer is found in the remaining version of the story to be considered, the most complete of those we have and yet lacking the verse itself. It too comes from the Pañcatantra cycle, and is found in Abbé Dubois's collection.¹³

A *poverty-stricken* Brahman in utter despair about to desert his family was taken into partnership by a merchant. Together

¹¹ In this story it is a Pandit, not a merchant, who finds the skull. We shall see later that he is an amalgamation of two characters of the original story—a man who finds the skull and an astrologer to whom he takes it for examination. In the oral tale there is no intimation that the skull was found on a desert shore. This omission, like that of other details, is due to faulty oral tradition.

¹² A vernacular text may be the immediate source of the oral tale. For Newāri prose commentaries on the Tantrākhyāna verses, see Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, pp. 313 ff.

¹³ *Pantcha-Tantra*, p. 24 (Introduction, story 2).

they went to a distant isle where he was left by this merchant as surety for goods which he had bought but for which he had not the cash to pay. The merchant, however, perished in a shipwreck, and never returned to redeem his pledge. The enraged creditors, thinking themselves defrauded, cast the unfortunate Brahman into *prison where he languished for ten years*, and then died. Hereupon, their vengeance not yet sated, they *threw his body into the ocean*, denying it the usual funeral rites. The body was eaten away by fish until only the skull remained. This the winds and the waves polished and filled with precious and aromatic substances, and at last threw on shore. It passed thru several hands until it came to a Rajput, who by close examination discovered that it was a skull and took it to an astrologer. The latter asserted positively that it was a skull, and advised the Rajput to throw it into the Ganges in order that he to whom it had belonged might attain to Heaven (svarga). The moral drawn is that *often matters destined for our harm result in our good fortune*.

The passages italicized represent approximately the four statements of the verse that belongs to this version, and we see now that we have here virtually the entire story.¹⁴ The tale as preserved in Upreti's collection and the Tantrākhyāna prose fragments agrees with the story translated by Dubois until we reach the point where the skull is found. Here there is a lacuna in Dubois's tale in that no mention is made of the fact that the Brahman's fate was indicated on his skull and was read by the astrologer. The two different terminations of the skull's history seem to indicate two versions of the tale with correspondingly different readings of the verse. One version, represented in Upreti and the Tantrākhyāna, had an unhappy ending in which a jealous woman brought ultimate misfortune upon the owner of the skull and the last pāda of its verse probably read *punaḥ kiṁ kiṁ bhaviṣyati* (afterwards something will happen). The second version, found in Dubois, ended happily, and its verse, as we may infer from the stories of Dubois, Kalhana, and Pandit

¹⁴ There has been literary intercourse of an intimate nature between Southern India and Nepal. Notice, for example, the well-known close relation between the Southern version of the Pañcatantra and the corresponding collection of verses from Nepal (see Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 37).

Natesa, read in pādas c and d samudratīre maraṇaṁ kimcid bhogaṁ bhaviṣyati (death on the seashore; then there will be some happiness).¹⁵

Each of these versions is doubtless represented in the literature of India by a text more complete than any of those discussed in this paper. As to the question of which of these versions is nearer the original from which both are ultimately derived, no answer can be made until one of these more complete texts comes to hand. It is clear, however, that the story of 'The Wandering Skull' has a fixed place in the Pañcatantra cycle.

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A CORRECTION.

Mr. Thomas J. Wise has called my attention to an error in the article on "The Centenary of Don Juan" (AJP. XL, 2). On page 126 it is stated that "in *The Liberal* the later cantos [of Don Juan] were published." This misstatement is due to a trick of memory; John and Leigh, the publishers of *The Liberal*, in which other work by Byron appeared, published cantos v to xvi inclusive in four separate volumes. No part of the poem appeared in *The Liberal*.

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¹⁵ I assume that a version of the story with a 'happy ending' is not only the source of Dubois's tale, but also the point of departure for the stories in Natesa's collection and in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. In the latter place the verse, as well as the story, has been radically changed.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Egypt Exploration Fund. Graeco-Roman Branch. The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part XIII. Edited with Translations and Notes by BERNARD P. GRENFELL and ARTHUR S. HUNT. London, *Egypt Exploration Fund*; Boston, 503 Tremont Temple, 1919.

The thirteenth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* unlike its predecessor, which was given up to edicts, letters and documents of one sort and another, contains literary papyri only. They come from the three large finds of literary material made in 1905-6, the first of which with the issuing of this volume has now been completely published. There is much that is interesting in the new volume. One turns first of all to the fragments of the *Dithyrambs* of Pindar. Egypt has already given us portions of his *Paeans* (*Ox. P.* 841) and *Parthenia* (*Ox. P.* 659), as well as odes of an uncertain character (*Ox. P.* 408), and this volume includes also parts of *Ol.* I, II, VI and VII, the first epinician odes to be represented by papyri. The new fragment, which consists of two pieces, apparently belonged to Book I of the *Dithyrambs* and contains portions of three odes with brief scholia. The first, written for the Argives, probably had to do with the Perseus legend, but it is so mutilated that not very much can be made out of it. The same is true of the third ode which seems to have been written for the Corinthians. Of the second, however, we have the first thirty lines which can be restored almost completely. It is entitled Θρασύνη Ἡρακλῆς ἡ Κέρβερος. Θηβαίους and appears to have been famous in antiquity. Three of the extant fragments (79*a* and *b* and 208) appear in it making the identity of the author certain, though there could have been little doubt on this point as the lines exhibit all the color and vigor of style which we associate with Pindar. The ode begins by contrasting the older with the newer form of the dithyramb to the advantage of the latter derived from the festival of Dionysus in Olympus, which the poet proceeds to describe. Then it passes on to Thebes and the ancestry of Dionysus, when the papyrus breaks off. It is clear that the new kind of dithyramb is that of Pindar, not of Lasus as Boeckh supposed from Frag. 79*a*; but the much discussed σὺν κίβδαλον of line 3 (also Frag. 79*a*) does seem to refer to the ᾠδαὶ ἀστυγμοὶ of Lasus, as Athenaeus says. Enough of the ode remains to show that it was a brilliant one and it is a pity that it is not complete. It is written in dactylo-epitritic metre and was

arranged in strophes and probably in triads as the first was. The fact that Dionysus is referred to in all three odes has some bearing on the history of the dithyramb. Two new words occur, *εδάμνξ* in I 13 and *ἀκναμπτεῖ* in III 12. The papyrus dates from the latter part of the second century A. D.

The fragment of the *Olympian Odes* is a sheet of two leaves and contains *Ol.* I 106–II 45 and VI 71–VII 20. Two of its four columns are fairly well preserved. This papyrus probably dates from the fifth century and its text is very close to that of our best manuscripts, sometimes agreeing with the Ambrosian family, but more often with the Vatican. The difficulty in *Ol.* II 6 and the interpolation *φιλέοντι δὲ Μοῖσαι* in *Ol.* II 29–30 both recur. In II 39 the new reading *πατρώϊαν* must be wrong, and Mr. E. Lobel's emendation to *πατρώϊ' ἄν*, the *ἄν* belonging to *ἔχειν*, may well be correct. In VI 77 *δρος* is found in place of *δροῖς* or *δροῖς* of the manuscripts.

Next in importance to the Pindar come the prose fragments. About two hundred small pieces belonged to a roll which once contained six of the lost speeches of Lysias. The longest fragment has the last three columns of a speech *Πρὸς Ἱπποθέροην ὑπὲρ θεραπαίνης* and two columns of a speech against a certain Theomnestus. Two orations against Theomnestus are extant, but they seem to refer to a different person. The speech against Hippotherses was evidently an important one and had to do with the restoration of the property of Lysias after his return from exile. Lysias must have been the real plaintiff in the case. Apparently an estate of his valued at seventy (?) talents had been confiscated by the Thirty and sold to Hippotherses and others. In the peroration Lysias points out how devotedly he had served the state in contrast with his opponent who had long been allied with the enemies of Athens. This papyrus dates from the end of the second or beginning of the third century A. D.

Another orator is represented by parts of ten columns devoted to the defense of a man named Lycophron on a charge of adultery. It is probably the work of Hyperides who is known to have defended Lycophron, but it is a different speech from the one partly preserved in the British Museum. Only about one hundred lines can be restored.

Still another papyrus contains portions of the *Alcibiades* of Aeschines Socraticus. The continuous passages are short, the longest having less than twenty lines, but they are sufficient to show that Aeschines in the portrait which he drew of Socrates was in close agreement with Plato in his earlier dialogues.

Another group of sixty or more small pieces belonged to an important historical work. With the help of Diodorus about one hundred lines have been restored. They fall into three groups one of which has to do with Themistocles, the second

with Cimon's operations against the Persians, and the third with the plot of Artabanus to kill Xerxes and seize the throne. The author was evidently one of the main sources of Diodorus, who often follows him very closely, and the editors feel that there can be little doubt that he was Ephorus and that this is part of his twelfth book. This papyrus is likely to revive the controversy as to the authorship of *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, variously ascribed to Cratippus, Theopompus or Ephorus. It appears to favor Ephorus.

Another papyrus has about 130 lines of a lost work on literary criticism. In one small piece there is a discussion of the number of judges in comic contests; another longer fragment tells the story of Caeneus, king of the Lapithae, and perhaps formed part of a discussion of the Middle Comedy; in a third piece the different men named Thucydides are discussed; while a fourth has to do with the authorship of the famous ode to Pallas (cf. Arist. *Clouds* 967), and appears to favor Lamprocles. The evidence for the authorship of this interesting work is set forth in some detail, but no satisfactory conclusion is reached.

Still another prose fragment, of which about forty lines are fairly well preserved, belonged to an oration on the cult of a Roman emperor who is called simply Caesar. Another is a list of the early Athenian archons from Ariphron to Apsandrus. The beginnings of twenty-seven lines of the *Μισοῦμενος* of Menander are also included in this volume, but they are of little value because of their meagreness.

Of the fragments of extant works the most interesting are parts of Theocritus, *Idyls* V, VII and XV, dating from the fifth century. The text does not agree with the existing families of manuscripts, but the editors think it as good as that of K. There are several important new readings in XV, e. g. *πέρουν* in line 98 for the corrupt *σπέρχιν* or *πέρχην* of the manuscripts, thus confirming Reiske's conjecture; *ὄχλος ἀλαθώς*, line 72, for various corrupt manuscript readings; and *μὴ ἀποπλαγχθῆς*, line 67. The order in which the idyls are found is also interesting. In this connection it may be observed that the important codex of Theocritus found by J. de M. Johnson at Antinoë is soon to be published and will no doubt shed much welcome light on the problems of the text.

A small piece of the *Ajax* of Sophocles (ll. 694-705 and 753-764) with the variants *Μύσια* in 699 and *τήνδ' ἔθ' ἡμέραν* in 756; and the first fifty-six lines of the *Plutus* of Aristophanes represent plays of which no papyrus fragments have previously been found. Parts of *Orestes* 53-61 and 89-97, of Herodotus III, of Thucydides I, II and III, of Plato's *Protagoras* and of Aeschines *Against Ctesiphon* complete the list of extant texts. There are also published several theological fragments including part of a new recension of *Tobit* XII.

The volume is edited with the usual care, and acknowledgment is made to various scholars for their assistance. Professor Hunt has had less to do with this than with the earlier volumes because of his absence on military duties, but the high standard of former years is fully maintained. The restorations proposed are always plausible and often certain; but the possibilities have by no means been exhausted, and there is abundant opportunity for those whose skill lies in restoring texts. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XIII is an important contribution and will be welcomed by all who are interested in the study of Greek literature.

WILLIAM N. BATES.

Everyday Greek—Greek Words in English, Including Scientific Terms. By HORACE ADDISON HOFFMAN. viii + 107 pp. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1919. \$1.25 net; postpaid, \$1.35.

In setting forth the scope and the purpose of this work, Dr. HOFFMAN states that the book has grown out of his own needs "in giving a brief course in the derivation of English words of Greek origin." He expresses the hope "that it will also be of service to many other teachers in giving similar courses in colleges and high schools," and he believes that "many persons will find such a manual very helpful for private study and reference." For the latter purpose, he has in mind two classes of students: "those who have studied Greek in the usual way," who, he thinks, "will find the book helpful for purposes of review and in the application of their knowledge to the study of Greek words in English"; and those who may "use the book in private study as the means of acquiring in the shortest and most direct way a sufficient knowledge of Greek to enable them to trace the origin and feel the force of scientific terms and other English words of Greek origin." The author remarks upon the great difficulty he has experienced in deciding what to include in the manual and what to omit, and feels sceptical about his ability to satisfy everyone by his selections. With regard to the manner of treatment, we are informed that the endeavor has been to "present the material in the most convenient and practical form rather than in a scientific and exhaustive form."

Dr. HOFFMAN has evidently bestowed much thought and care on his work, and, within the limits he has prescribed for himself, he has successfully accomplished his task. The work consists of six parts: (1) The Alphabet. (2) Parts of Speech. (3) Formation of Words. (4) Word Groups for Study. (5) Vocabulary. (6) Index and Key to Derivation. Of serious errors, save

those of Greek accent, there seems to be but a very small number. The most grievous error is the derivation (pp. 43, 66, 96) of the word "archives" from *ἀρχαία* instead of from *ἀρχεῖα* > Lat. *archi*(v)a > Fr. archives. "Plague" is not a derivative of *πληγή* (84, 104) but of a cognate of *πληγή*. "Crypt" comes from Latin *crypta* = Greek *κρυπτή*, rather than from *κρυπτόν* (77). *ἀναισθησία* is not an "action noun" in -*σια* (*ἀν-αισθη-σία*, p. 28), but a "quality noun" in -*ια* from *ἀναισθητος*. "Apothecary" (65) has been curiously substituted for "apothecary's shop," and "Cato" and "Cicero" have somehow or other slipped in among the examples of Greek derivatives (12). Apropos of the remark on *αἰλός* (52), it should be noted that *αἰλός* is used also in a non-musical sense. It is a slip to say (56) that *ἤλεκτρον* "is used in modern science to designate electricity" — "electro-," as a combining form, is so used. The adjectival form in -ous is several times inadvertently used for the substantival form in -us: polypous (16), phosphorous (18, 93, 104). It is an oversight to say (51) that *παράδοξος* as a noun means "paradox" — the neuter of *παράδοξος* was meant. Active *σκήπτω* hardly means "prop one's self" (86); the singular *νεφρός* does not mean the plural "kidneys" (81); *πνύω* (act.) does not mean to "suppurate" (85), but "cause to suppurate"; *πυρή* (85, 105) should be *πυρά*; the *ε* of *διοίκεις* (70) should be replaced by *η*; and the asterisk should be supplied with the following words, which do not occur in L. and S.: *ἀγνωστικός*, *ἀκροβάτης*, *γαστρικός*, *γιγαντικός*, *διάγωνος*, *ἐκκεντρικός*, *μεταλλουργός*, *παρενθετικός*. The printer's devil is no doubt to be blamed for such slips as *φδῆ* (8, for *φδῆ*), *ἐχειρίδιον* (10), cranebill (68), cutting (73), *ζών* (84, for *ζών*), *ἐν* (91, for *ἐν*), *φιλανθρωπία* (92, for *φιλανθρωπία*), *καθέδρα* (97, for *καθέδρα*), ichthyohagous (101); and the electrotyper probably planed away the accents of *λεγω* (64), *ἵπο* (91, 101), *ἀνα* (95), and the iota subscript of *ὠδή* (14); but the evil one himself must have sown the following crop of faulty accents: *χόρος* (11, for *χορός*), *γενέα* (14, for *γενεά*), *πούς* (16, 85, 96 bis, 104, 105, for *πούς*), *νέφρος* (27, 34 for *νεφρός*), *ἄστρο-νόμος* (41, line 11, for *ἀστρο-νόμος*), *Εὐγενής* (61, for *Εὐγένης*), *ζύγον* (64, for *ζυγόν*), *ἀκροβατής* (64, 95, for *ἀκροβάτης*), *πτέρον* (66, 85, 96, 97, 98, 101, 103, for *πτερόν*), *διαβόλος* (70, for *διάβολος*), *δίπλοος* (70, for *διπλός*), *ἐλεφας* (72, 99, for *ἐλέφας*), *θῶραξ* (75, 106 bis, for *θώραξ*), *κράσις* (77, 97, for *κράσις*), *μῦελος* (80, 102 ter, 104, for *μυελός*), *ῥινόκερος* (86, 105, for *ῥινόκερος*), *δρύς* (98, for *δρῦς*), *δῆμος* (99, for *δήμος*), *λύσις* (100, for *λύσις*), and *ζώνη* (107, for *ζώνη*).

The following remarks are intended not as criticisms, but as suggestions, some of which the author may, perhaps, see his way clear to adopt in a future edition, which, I hope, will soon become necessary. It is desirable in the interest of sound scholar-

ship that the section on Greek accents be revised. To say that "in pronouncing Greek words we accent the syllable over which the accent is placed and make no distinction with regard to the kind of accent mark used," may represent the prevailing practice, but it does not represent the ancient practice, and the student is entitled to know the theory of ancient practice (see Smyth's Greek Grammar, § 130). Whether the teacher or the student is able to make the distinctions, or cares to make them, matters not. It is also important that the student be acquainted with the general rules for the position of the Greek accent, and that the quantity of the vowels ϵ , α and υ be marked when it is long. In the exercise on p. 12, the student is asked to pronounce among other words the Greek and the Latinized English forms of *Σωκράτης*, *Θουκυδίδης*, *Ἀφροδίτη*, *Εὐριπίδης*, *Αἰσχύλος*. He will not be able to pronounce correctly a single one of these words, either in Greek or in English, without a knowledge of the quantities, and it is surely asking too much of him to consult a Greek lexicon for information which might have been given with so little extra trouble. In view of the divergence of Greek and English, a section on the syllabification of Greek words would form a valuable addition. The usefulness of the book would be further enhanced by uniformity in the employment of full-faced type in the printing of English derivatives, and the student would surely be grateful for the giving of the genders and of the genitive case of the substantives in the Vocabulary. It would be conducive to a much better understanding of many of the Greek derivatives, if something were said about the rôle of French as a vehicle of transmission of the Greek. It would shed a flood of light on much that would otherwise remain obscure—and it would not be at all inconsistent with a popular method of presentation—to follow the example of our large English dictionaries and to indicate the successive media of transmission, if ever so briefly. So, for example, *archives* < F < L < ἄρχεῖα (or, F L ἄρχεῖα); *bishop* < AS < L < ἐπίσκοπος (or, AS L ἐπίσκοπος); *hour* < F < L < ὥρα (or, F L ὥρα). But the thing which is uppermost in my mind, and which I most earnestly commend to the author's consideration, is the question of the desirability of extending the limits of his treatise so as to include all the "everyday Greek" and the nucleus, at least, of all the scientific Greek. When one reads in the Index the word "amphioxus," one sorely misses such words as abyss, academy, achromatic, acolyte, acrostic, adamant, allegory, alphabet, amazon, amuesty, amphibious, amphibrach, anachronism, anagram, anchorite, anthracite, apocalypse, apoplexy, aphelion, aphorism, apotheosis, archipelago, aroma, asparagus, asphalt, asphyxia, autonymy—to mention only words beginning with the first letter of the alphabet.

Before closing this notice, I wish once more to state that, within the limits set for himself, the author has produced a good book. It seems to meet a wide-felt want, and I believe it will in large measure fulfill the purposes for which it was intended. I hope, however, that the author will regard it as only a beginning, and that he will in the future revise and augment it so as greatly to enlarge its sphere of usefulness and to make it a real *vademecum* for all those who, in one way or another, are interested in the Greek element of English.

C. W. E. MILLER.

THE NEW PAULY REAL-ENCYCLOPÄDIE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Urbana, Nov. 10, 1919.

I received this morning in the mail a letter from Professor W. Kroll of Breslau telling of the extremely sad state of affairs now obtaining in Germany and the extraordinary difficulties with which they have to contend in order to maintain any of their scientific enterprises. In particular, he informs me that the great revision of the Pauly Realencyclopädie, which he has kept going only with extreme sacrifice, will now certainly collapse unless they can count upon the speedy renewal of subscriptions in foreign countries, so that at least as many copies as were taken before the war will be subscribed for again. It would be a terrible loss to scholarship if this monumental enterprise should be given up now, and I wonder if it would not be appropriate for you in the columns of the *American Journal of Philology* to call attention to the situation. . . . I should think that a number of scholars in this country might well order the work for themselves as well as see to it that the libraries with which they are connected resume promptly their subscriptions. I have heard indirectly that the . . . has already gone under. I hope that is not true, but surely we ought not now to let the new Pauly Realencyclopädie collapse. . . .

W. A. OLDFATHER.

REPORTS

PHILOLOGUS, Band LXXV (N. F. Bd. XXIX) (1919), Heft 1 and 2.

Pp. 1-67. C. Ritter, Platons Logik. (To be continued later.) This treatise was written some years ago. As originally planned it kept close to the latest dialogues (Parmenides, Sophistes, Politikos, Philebos, Timaios and Nomoi) touching incidentally on the Menon, Phaidon, and Theaitetos. Though the collection of materials is not complete, many sections have been worked over. 1. In opposition to the Eleatics Plato maintained that every logician must presuppose thinking and its actuality before he can lay down rules for it with his law of identity. He finds that judgment (*λόγος*) is the form in which actual thinking expresses itself. Insight into the nature of judgment must also make clear the meaning of the laws valid for judgment or thought. While Plato did not bring into vogue a formula for the law of identity, which he has made into an instrument of knowledge, from what he says about the so-called law of contrast, its positive counterpart can be easily restored. The rule of the excluded third can be derived from Sophistes 250d. 2. The concept of being and the nature of judgment. (Soph. 244d.) 3. The categories (and negative definition). As set forth in the Sophistes it would seem as if the three pairs of concepts—being and not-being, identity and difference, motion and rest—were arbitrarily selected as examples of comprehensive general concepts. But Plato seems to picture his system of concepts as resembling a triangle of broad base and tapering to a point. He was aware of other categories. In another connection, Philebos 23c ff., he takes the position that as every category as such is applicable to the most diverse content we can say of it that which serves Philebos as the distinguishing mark of the unlimited, that it includes in itself the greater and the less. So the individual category is a species of the unlimited. The unlimited is a supreme general concept, under which all the categories, *μέγιστα γένη*, fall. 4. The dialectic method of determining concepts. Collect under a comprehensive general concept all phenomena that belong together; then the eye will be struck by special differences, which in turn give the criteria for the division of the general concept into groups. 5. The basis of a concept-system. In spite of the limits of man's knowledge and experience, certain adequate definitions can be made; hence *τέχνη* or *ἐπιστήμη* can be sub-

mitted to systematic classification. 6. Special rules of concept-formation, based on the Sophistes and Politikos. A. Seven rules are given for division: dichotomy; choose the differentia so as to obtain things logically alike; the division should be natural; not far-fetched or by sudden steps; the process should go on until the end sought is obtained. B. The chief rule for grouping individual phenomena under general concepts is that one must not be deceived by anything non-essential; but Plato states no simple criterion for what is important and essential, yet one may be discerned when a concept is examined from the point of view of its purpose or end, and judged on that basis. 7. The Platonic determination of concepts compared with Aristotle's syllogistic. All the rules of the syllogism might be deduced from the argumentation or the preliminaries to definition in the Platonic dialogues. 8. Naming and the formula of definition. Concepts which in important respects are contrasted ought necessarily to be so subdivided that this relation is made clear. The parts should be named. Examples of the formula of definition, *λόγος τοῦ ὀνόματος*, are found in Soph. 223 b and 224 d.

Pp. 68-76. W. Kroll, *ἐν ᾗθου*. For the use of this phrase in the writers on rhetoric and music much material has been collected by Süss and Abert. But *ᾗθος* and *ἐν ᾗθου* are terms used with some confusion by the grammarians whom we know from the scholia. Rutherford in "A Chapter in the History of Annotation," p. 126, treats of this usage at some length; his explanation is correct, but his data are incomplete as he considers only the Greek scholia on the drama. *ἔθος*, besides denoting a uniform and abiding 'character,' may also be used for *pathos*. The two have this in common, that *ᾗθος* denotes the expression with which something is spoken and which reveals a character or mood (*Stimmung*). More frequent are passages where *ᾗθος*, without any qualification, means 'emphasis.' Most frequently the word denotes 'irony,' but this use is developed from the preceding and implies 'emphasis.' In other passages the meaning 'character' is still preserved. To complete the confusion, the term is also used to denote what belongs to the sphere of moral philosophy. Considerable material is collected for Donatus and the Homeric scholia.

Pp. 77-96. G. Helmreich, Zu Galen. 1. Critical notes. The text of Galen has been sadly neglected in the last century. For the new *Corpus Medicorum* the text should be carefully revised. As examples of the corruption of the text in the last edition, that of Kühn (Leipzig, 1821-1833), a number of passages from the pharmacological works (vols. 12-13, Kühn) are examined and intelligible readings restored. 2. Lexicographical. Owing to the corrupt state of the text there is danger that 'ghost words'

may be added to our lexicons. But many legitimate words found in Galen are not in Passow's lexicon; other words are cited there as only from authors of a later period, and others are given without citation of authority. An examination of vols. 12-13 gives 65 new words; 47 more cited by Passow only from later authors; and 10 cited by him without mention of the author.

Pp. 98-127. A. Ludwich, Ueber die Homerischen Glossen Apions. (Conclusion, cf. vol. LXXIV, pp. 205 ff.) The purpose of this article is to estimate the value of the not inconsiderable remains of Apion's Homeric glossary. But before this can be adequately accomplished the whole body of manuscript material must be published. The labors of the ancients in the field of Homeric semasiology offer a field broad enough to appall even an indefatigable philologist; yet the work is well worth doing and indispensable for the study of the lexicons and scholia that have come down to us, promising rich returns for the whole field of philological science in antiquity.

Apion's glossary was freely excerpted by Apollonius the Sophist. It was not restricted to words of various meanings. It was limited to the two great epics and arranged in alphabetical order according to the initial letters of the words; it was careless of Homeric inflexional forms in citing words in the lemmata; it often failed to discriminate between peculiarities of dialect, spelling and pronunciation; simple and compound words were separated without any plan; there was a constant striving to discover meanings and etymologies; citations were often 'contaminated'; there was an admixture of things un-Homeric. An examination of the passages, which some think point to the spuriousness of the glossary, shows nothing more than the possibility of corruption and mutation resulting from excerption.

Pp. 128-133. Fr. Vollmer. Nachträge zur Ausgabe von Q. Sereni liber medicinalis. The author describes two additional MSS to which Dr. Lehmann had called his attention: Vat. Pal. Lat. 1088, Saec. IX (fol. 66-68v) and Bonn. Univ. Bibl. MS. 218, Saec. XI (fol. 72-81v). The former is a good representative of the more corrupt B tradition; the latter is a mixed codex, its original being of Class B, but with additions from Class A. Cod. Hertensis N. 192, Saec. XI (at Schloss Herten in Westphalia) described by Sudhoff in Archiv f. Geschichte d. Medizin, X, 265-313, also contains a mixed tradition, a corrupt form of Class B, added to and corrected in some passages from Class A. Selected readings are given from these manuscripts. The better text of the A class was all but forgotten in the Middle Ages. A trace of it is to be found in a Leiden MS, which contains a poem by Jacobus, elsewhere preserved only in the Zürich MS containing the A tradition of Serenus. Finally Vollmer

solves the riddle *mustro* = *vespertilio*; *mustro* is O. H. G.: *fledermustro* (*fledermaus*).

Pp. 134-155. R. Foerster, *Platons Phaidros und Apulejus*. Certain passages in the *Phaidros* (251 c sq.; cf. *Metamorph.* IV 28 sq.) point to some sort of Platonic influence on Apuleius' fable of Cupid and Psyche. Was it direct or indirect? The description of the *ψυχή* in *Phaidros* 246 *ἐπερωμένη μετεωροποιεῖ* and *πεπορηγύσασα φέρεται*, and in 248 c *θεῶ ξυνοπαδὸς γενομένη*, and in 249 c *συμπορευθεῖσα θεῶ* led some artist to create an Eros and Psyche group, probably an important work of art, and much copied in the smaller forms of which we have examples. The Hellenistic source of Apuleius' Milesian tale was influenced by this artist's work, which was in turn inspired by the *Phaidros*. We know of no artistic representation of Eros and Psyche before the date of the *Phaidros*, even if the latter was a work of Plato's old age. Most of Foerster's argument is in refutation of the assumptions of Reitzenstein, who supposed a Hellenistic modification of an oriental (Iranian) myth. When Reitzenstein sees in the deification of Psyche through Eros a trace of direct Platonic influence on the Alexandrian version of the myth, Foerster agrees, but beyond that he will not follow him.

Pp. 156-177. M. Boas, *Neue Catobrichstücke*. II. (Conclusion. Cf. vol. LXXIV, 313-351.) The Cato fragment in Cod. Monac. 19413, saec. XI: *Rumori ne crede novo nec ficta loquendo | Laeteris: nocuit cunctis audacia semper*. We also can derive a fragment of another lost distich which became contaminated with IV 39: *Cede locum laesus, fortunae cede potenti Laedere quae potuit et in ipso tempore donis*. The form of II 2 in Monac. and Medic. (belonging to the Φ tradition) involving a difficult critical question may be determined. The original form is: *mitte arcana dei caelumque inquirere quid sit*, etc. (Cf. the beginning of Lactantius *divin. instit.* I 1, 3.) It is not a Christian modification of a pagan thought (an di sint caelumque regant ne quaere doceri, given in cod. Turicensis). Like others of the distichs it shows that their author was a Christian, but that he was still infected with pagan beliefs.

Pp. 178-182. J. Czebe, *Zu Diog. Laert.* III 28 und *Alkiphron* IV 7. The fragment of *Amphis* in D. L. has not the slightest connection with the epistle of *Alkiphron*. Hence C. Ritter's emendation (*Philol.* 68, 334) of *ὥσπερ κοχλίας το ὑπὲρ κροτάφους* is unnecessary. The reference is not to the snail-shell but to the snail itself (*helix arbustorum*, L.), whose extended horns might resemble lifted eyebrows. The epistle of *Alkiphron* goes back to Lukian, *Bis Acc.* § 28, p. 826 R., *Hermot.* § 1, p. 739; *Nigr.* §§ 1-2.

Pp. 183-201. H. Kern, *Der antike Astyanax-Mythus und seine späteren Auswüchse*. In the seventeenth century the house of Bourbon called themselves Hectoridae and Troiugenae, claiming that Astyanax was their ancestor. But in antiquity Astyanax had a tragic fate. The myth was developed from Homer (Il. VI 476 f. and XXIV 734 f.) by the cyclic epic which is now lost, but whose influence is traceable in wall-painting and vase-painting, especially of the fifth century; also in the mythographic poetry of the Alexandrian era, which revived the epic for a short, shadowy existence; in the mythological prose excerpts which accompanied it; and in Pausanias. From these sources seven versions may be established: Astyanax grew up; his mother endeavored to protect him; the Greeks sought to extirpate the house of Priam and wreak vengeance on Hector by slaying his son; Astyanax himself leaped from a high tower; Neoptolemus with his own hand slew him; Odysseus slew him in execution of a decree of the Achaeans; he met his death with Priam at the altar of Zeus. The Attic drama presents no modification of the myth. Roman tragedy follows in the footsteps of the Greek, although Seneca (*Troades*) makes Andromache hide her child in the tomb of Hector, and, later in the play, Astyanax throws himself from the tower. Based on ancient tradition, and strongly influenced by Seneca, but still unaffected by the later form of the myth, is a humanistic epic 'Astyanax' by Maffeo Vegio, of the fifteenth century, in 317 verses. II. The romance of Troy by Benoît de Sainte-Maure was based on Dares and Dictys. The second part following Dictys makes Astyanax with Laodamas his brother remain alive after Hector's death in the new home of Neoptolemus and Andromache. Strabo XIII 52 and Stephanus of Byzantium include Astyanax (*Skamandrios*) among the emigrant settlers from Troy. The scholiast on Lykophron states that Remus and Romulus with the sons of Hector, Astyanax and Sapernios, founded Rome. The Burgundian chronicler Fredegar makes Priam the first king of the Franks, and mentions as a descendant of Priam a later leader Francio, who was identified with Astyanax by succeeding generations which were ever on the lookout for something sensational. Upon this bizarre foundation Pierre Ronsard in 1572 built his epic, 'Franciade'; while Racine in the second preface to his edition (1676) of the 'Andromaque' admits that he was obliged to let Astyanax live "un peu plus qu'il n'a vécu," and adds: "Qui ne sait que l'on fait descendre nos anciens rois du fils d'Hector?"

Pp. 202-226. E. Hoppe, *Ist Heron der Verfasser der unter seinem Namen herausgegebenen Definitionen und der Geometrie?* Heron, neither directly nor indirectly, had anything to do with the "Definitions." They originated, at the earliest,

towards the end of the sixth century, from lecture notes taken from a teacher who dealt with commentaries more than with originals. They circulated under Heron's name, as Heron's mensuration was the traditional basis for all surveying. The case is similar for the geometry, which has no mathematical value, but is historically interesting as it shows the depths to which Greek mathematics had fallen in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Pp. 227-243. Miscellen.—1. pp. 227-231. G. Thiele, Zur Libyschen Fabel. (Supplement to the author's article on λόγοι Λιβυκοί in Neue Jahrb. XXI 6.) Two discourses of the imperial era, Or. V by Dion of Prusa and Lucian's περὶ θυράδων, both of the type called λαλῖαι or προλαλῖαι, show the continuance of the tradition of the λόγοι Λιβυκοί. These later pieces show rhetorical elaboration of the fable with the addition of many details of landscape. These fables were derived by the Sophists from the Cynic literature. Dion's Or. V is complete in itself, a παίγνιον which might have served as a προλαλιά; or, as in Or. IV, as an insertion; or as a conclusion. The earliest trace of the Libyan fable points to a time before Aeschylus, whose 'dying eagle' (Myrmidon., fr. 139) utters words like those of the trees in the fable of the trees and the woodchoppers. If the Syrian romance of Achibar was not influenced by the Libyan fables its date must go back as far as the fifth century.—2. pp. 231-232. N. A. Bees, Zu einer Randnotiz der Pausaniashandschrift Va. The corrected reading in a marginal note to Paus. VII 18, 2 (cod. Vindob. Hist. Graec. XXIII) mentions Kamenitza near Patras, wrongly identifying it with Olenos. The ultimate source of the note cannot be determined.—3. pp. 232-237. W. Soltan, Zur römischen Verfassungsgeschichte. (Zur lex centuriata de imperio.) Immediately after their accession to office, which took place at once after their election, the censors assumed their dignity on the Campus Martius, with sacrifices and auspices, and by solemnly taking their official seat. They then held their first *contio*. Neither immediately nor soon after their accession was there time enough for a new summons of the comitia centuriata. From Varro (L. L. VI 86 f.) it is clear that the censor needed the imperium only for the purpose of reconvening the comitia centuriata. After the decree of the people, after the new determination of the *exercitus*, after the *lustratio*, he was obliged to dismiss the comitia, and lead the *exercitus urbanus* "ad vexillum" for the levy. As a corollary to this it is to be inferred that the centuries of the comitia centuriata must have been drawn up in ranks according to the arrangement of the reformed constitution.—4. p. 237. H. Krause, Zu Pind. Pyth. I. Read θέλγεις for θέλγει and then κῆλα as object in its natural meaning.—5. pp. 237-242. R.

Pfeiffer, *Antikes in der Zimmerischen Chronik* (cf. *Philol.* LXXIV 131-183). The 16th cent. author of the chronicle of the Zimmern family knew no Greek. His chief helper was probably Hieronymus Boner, who in 1534 dedicated a German translation of Plutarch to Wilhelm Werner von Zimmern.—6. pp. 242-243. A. Semenov, *Noch einmal die "Ilias in nuce."* Against Gardthausen the writer insists that Pliny's reference (*N. H.* 7, 21, 85) to a miniature Iliad that could be put in a nut-shell is based on a misunderstanding. Cicero or his authority took the supposed original *ἐν κάρυφ* as 'nut' when it meant a 'box made of the wood of a nut-tree.'

GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG.

UNION COLLEGE.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE, XLII (1918), parts 1, 2.

Pp. 5-27. Essay on Sallust's *Catiline*. Ragnar Ullmann. The writer sees the influence of the Greek drama on the composition of Sallust's monograph. Setting aside the brief philosophical introduction (1-4), we have the prologue (5-16), the *parodos* (17-19), the first episode (20-30), the first *stasimon* (31, 1-4), the second episode (31, 5-36, 3), the second *stasimon* (36, 4-39, 5), the third episode (39, 6-53, 1), the third *stasimon* (52, 2-54), the *exodos* (55-61). In its psychological analysis the model is Thucydides. The style is largely due to a desire to avoid the manner of Cicero.

Pp. 28-31. Note on the epitaph of Abercius. L. Saint-Paul.

Pp. 32-41. Emendations to the Greek tragic poets. J. E. Harry. Textual notes on Aeschylus, *Supplices*, 186; *Persae*, 815, 304, 539, 562; *Choephoroi*, 224, 544; *Eumenides* 203, 213, 925; Sophocles, *Electra*, 451; Oedipus Coloneus, 694-706, 1074-1084, 1192, 1373, 1447-1456, 1670-1695; *Trachiniae*, 186-190, 678; Euripides, *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 1193.

Pp. 42-51. Homère et Bacchylide dans les papyrus d'Oxyrhynchos. Paul Collart. (1) Discussion of a fragment of the Iliad published in the *Oxyrhynchos Papyri*, vol. XI, no. 1391. (2) Comparison of two fragmentary *skolia* of Bacchylides with the 'dedicated' *skolia* of Pindar.

Pp. 52-54. Un fragment de critique d'art dans Suidas? F. Préchac. The last sentence in the article on Sebastianos is due to a confusion of names: "le général avait un homonyme qui était une statue."

Pp. 55-59. Aristote, *Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων*, 62, 2. Paul Foucart. Perhaps the passage should read: *Τοῖς δὲ πρυτανέουσιν εἰς σίτησιν ὀβολὸς προστίθεται, [τῷ δ' ἐπιστάτῃ] δέκα προστίθενται.*

Pp. 60-62. Un héros Éphésien. Paul Foucart. The hero Heropythos mentioned in an early inscription is probably the Heropythos mentioned by Arrian, I 17, 11.

Pp. 63-79. Écrits hermétiques. Franz Cumont. I. Sur les douze lieux de la sphère. Notes on a treatise of Hermes Trismegistus which had great influence on Roman and mediæval astrology.

P. 80. Review of R. C. Kukul's edition of Pliny's Epistles, Leipzig, 1912. Paul Lejay.

Revue des Comptes rendus d'ouvrages relatifs à l'antiquité classique, parus en 1914. 126 pp.

Pp. 81-84. *Proprius*, terme rituel. Louis Havet. In the long inscription which refers to the secular games of the year B. C. 17, the word *proprius*, line 103, probably means a steer which had just been fed. In Plautus, Captivi, 862, it seems to mean a sucking lamb.

Pp. 85-108. Écrits hermétiques, II. Le médecin Thessalus et les plantes astrales d'Hermès Trismégiste. Franz Cumont. The letter of 'Harpocraton' published in the Revue de Philologie, II (1878), 65-77, should be ascribed to Thessalus of Tralles (Pliny, N. H. XXIX 4, 9). It was dedicated either to Claudius or to Nero, between 43 and 68.

Pp. 109-121. La date d'avènement de Ptolémée IV Philopator. Maurice Badolle. The evidence of the papyri, combined with that of Polybius, fixes the date as September 221.

Pp. 122-129. Isocrate et Thucydide. Georges Mathieu. A list of facts and of general ideas which the later writer borrowed from the earlier. These are sometimes obscured by reason of their different conceptions of literary composition.

Pp. 130-132. Reviews of R. Dussaud, Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la mer Égée, and of Washington University Studies, vol. V, no. I.

Revue des revues et publications d'Académies relatives à l'antiquité classique. 64 pp.

WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

BRIEF MENTION.

The recent death of the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, tempts me to commit to *Brief Mention* an unpublished fragment of my memoirs. Memoirs are notoriously inaccurate, especially in matters of date. And no wonder, for it is usually the ancient of days that write memoirs. In my long experience, days, months and years run into each other with sad blending of colors, but one year stands out in my memory as an "Annus Mirabilis." It was the birth-year of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY, the year in which I was sent to Europe on a special mission. Ostensibly the object of that mission was threefold. I was to seek contributions to the newly founded JOURNAL, to open negotiations with certain distinguished European professors in the hope of securing their services for the Johns Hopkins University and finally, perhaps chiefly, to form personal and professional relations with the representatives of my own line of study.¹

The first stage of my journey was Trinity College, Dublin. I brought letters of introduction from my colleague, Professor Sylvester, to two of his friends, Salmon, then, if I remember right, Provost of Trinity, and Mahaffy, Professor of Ancient History, in whose death the world of letters has lost one of its most attractive personalities. Dr. Salmon, eminent both as mathematician and theologian, showed me every kindness and I owe to him one unforgettable evening in hall, enlivened by sallies of wit and gay anecdotes such as were to be expected from a company of brilliant Irish scholars. Some weeks afterwards, I met Dr. Salmon again at Cambridge, where he was to deliver one of the great sermons of the year. The subject was, I believe, "The Office of the Holy Ghost," and I remember distinctly that I was much impressed with the breadth and depth of his presentation. When I went forward after the sermon to express my pleasure at meeting him again and my appreciation of his discourse, he forestalled me by saying: "I hope you got here in time to see the Bump race." I had seen the Bump race—nothing less inspiring to one who was not initiated than that form of sport—but the question was characteristic of the college-bred English clergyman. I was afterwards to witness the far more

¹ I took notes of my trip, notes which are now more or less illegible, but of the so-called mission, no report was made or indeed expected, for as I subsequently ascertained, the whole business was a device to give me a holiday and incidentally an opportunity to make or renew acquaintance with foreign philological notables. The plan was one of Mr. Gilman's countless benevolences.

stirring race at Henley. There is vividly present to my mind the image of one English curate, speeding along the bank, his long coat-tails flying behind him while he shouted: "Hurrah for Jesus <College>!"

I called on Mahaffy at his rooms in Trinity, but I was informed by his servitress that Mr. Mahaffy was umpiring a cricket game. The next day was Sunday. I went to service in the Cathedral, and read with unfeigned emotion the famous 'saeva indignatio' epitaph of Dean Swift, whose works were the joy of my boyhood. Time was hanging rather heavy on my hands, and so I went down to Kingston in order to enjoy the afternoon Sunday parade and feast my eyes (not so aged then) on the pretty Irish girls with their raven locks and bright blue eyes. As I was sitting in rather forlorn mood at dinner in the Shelbourne Hotel, a waiter handed me a note from Mahaffy with an invitation to dinner that very evening. The note had been belated in its delivery, and, immediately after I had finished my meal, I mounted a jaunting-car, and hastened to Mahaffy's house in order to make due apologies. The hearty anathemas pronounced on the remissness of the hotel people warmed my heart and set me at my ease. "The great feature of the dinner," he said, "was a salmon of my own catch." He was sitting in his dining-room when I arrived, and pointed with pride to a row of silver cups which he had won at various shooting-matches. He had previously expressed his disappointment at my failure to receive his note in due time because he had wished me to hear his performance as precentor in Trinity Chapel. The next day, as we were walking along the arcade of Trinity, he was stopped by a collegian who consulted him as to a difficult question of counterpoint, and, a few steps farther, he was held up by one of the Dons, who said that they were in great trouble about the setting of an examination in Italian. "Oh well!" said Mr. Mahaffy, "I can manage it for you." A few minutes later, when we were in the library, he showed me its treasures in the shape of Erse manuscripts and dilated on their value and their contents. As we parted, he said with a sly smile: "I will not give you a letter to Jebb." Jebb and he were engaged in a bitter quarrel at the time, and Jebb knew how to hate. I never saw Mahaffy again. He had the defects of his qualities. His wonderful versatility was paired with an equally wonderful capacity for lapses in thought and statement. "When I took my fellowship," he said. "Salmon told me to go ahead and not mind making blunders." "I have gone ahead," he added, "and haven't made any blunders." "However," he continued after a moment's reflection, "mistakes in such a language as the German, are unavoidable. One of my first publications was the translation of Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, and some malevolent person pointed

out that I had translated 'unumgänglich' by 'unsociable,' whereas its meaning is 'inevitable.'" "Now," he said, 'Um-gang' means 'society,' and why shouldn't 'unumgänglich' mean 'unsociable'?"

Mahaffy lectured several times in America. His fame for errancy had preceded him. He was not invited to any of the great American universities, and his brilliant discourses were delivered to Chautauqua audiences. When I think of some of his misstatements and misinterpretations, I almost regret having called attention to them in the JOURNAL. If Verrall's whimsies were forgiven by his students because 'he made all classics so gloriously alive,' much may be forgiven Mahaffy by reason of his boyish frankness and undeniable charm.¹ When I was in Greece in 1896, my guide, who had been Mahaffy's guide, spoke of him with admiration, emphasizing his readiness in the use of modern Greek. His "Rambles and Studies in Greece" is a delightful book, and when I talked to my classes on Sophocles' Oedipus at Colonus, I never failed to quote his description of a spot sacred to the ill-fated hero and the fortunate poet. The further progress of my tour brought me into contact with a number of eminent scholars and not a few pages of the JOURNAL owe what point and colour they may have to association with distinguished members of the guild to which I belong. But reminiscences of this sort are apt to degenerate into mere gossip and though *Brief Mention* is a law unto itself, there are limits to its frank disclosures.

Every now and then your Greek scholar, no matter what his special corner of the vast domain, finds his footsteps straying in the direction of the magic garden of the Greek Anthology. One is inevitably tempted to translation, and though I have often deplored the distortion caused by rhyme and for many years was a steadfast advocate of rendering in the measure of the original, my own translations, of which I have given specimens from time to time in the JOURNAL, are under the domination of the jingle. If I have shown a preference for the erotic,

¹ Wit and humour are always permissible for the enlivenment of learned aridities. What dryasdust is so atrabilarious as to object to the tone of Van Leeuwen's Enchiridium and his gay narrative of the fortunes of the Digamma in the progress of Homeric studies? But whim is to be debarred from serious philological discussion, and so lately, when treating of the phonetics of the same Digamma, I wrote the following protest:

I cannot join with those who raise
For Albius Varus hymns of praise;
Lest, raising hymns of praise to him,
I should raise hymns of praise to whim.

the date of some of them must be remembered in palliation, and, even in the case of a more recent transgression, the amatory poems of "Paulus Silentarius" appeal to the head rather than to the heart. But some time ago I declared my intention to limit myself to the more appropriate sphere of the "Epitymbia," but circumstances over which I have no control have made it impossible for me to indulge in caperings among the tombs, and I must content myself with producing a couple of specimens of this kind of play. I belong to the order of "flagellants," and if I do not inflict the punishment due on myself, I am sure that I shall not go unwhipped of justice.

I wept the death of my Theonoe.
 Hopes of my child assuaged that grief for me.
 Now envious Fate hath me again bereft
 And cheated me, alas! of what was left.
 Persephone, hark a father's sad request
 And lay the baby on the mother's breast.

A. P. VII 387.¹

Five years I'd seen
 Sans care, sans teen,
 When ruthless death
 Stopp'd short my breath.
 My name runs thus,
 Callimachus.
 For me weep not.
 Although my lot
 Of life was brief,
 So was my grief.

A. P. VII 308.²

A famous statesman compared the Missouri compromise to a fire-bell in the night. Not a fire-bell in the night, but a death-knell in broad day, was the question put to me by Henri Weil in 1904³: *Professez-vous encore?* Up to that time I had never thought of old age in connection with myself, but from that day I never lost sight of it. So, in a remarkable passage, Dean Swift tells us that up to a certain date he had never thought of death, but that thenceforward death was always before his eyes

¹ Θειονόης ἔκλαιον ἐμῆς μόρον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παιδὸς
 ἐλπίσι κουφοτέρως ἔστενον εἰς ὁδόν.
 Νῦν δέ με καὶ παιδὸς φθονερή γ' ἀπεισέφισε Μοῖρα·
 φεῖ! βρέφος ἐψεύσθη καὶ σὲ τὸ λατόμενον.
 Περσεφόνη, τόδε πατρός ἐπὶ θρήνοις ἀκουσον·
 ὅς τις βρέφος ἐς κόλπους μητρὸς ἀποιχομένης.

² Παῖδά με πενταέτηρον, ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντα,
 νηλεὲς Ἀΐδης ἤρπασε Καλλίμαχον.

³ Ἀλλὰ με μὴ κλαίεις· καὶ γὰρ βιώτοιο μετέσχον
 παύρου, καὶ παύρων τῶν βιώτοιο κακῶν.

⁴ A. J. P. XXXI, 117.

like some point to which he was steadily approaching. Weil's question was not unnatural. He remembered our interview of 1880 and knew that I could not be in my first youth. The tone of my reply must have shewed him that he had touched a sensitive spot, and he proceeded to compliment me on my *verte vieillesse*, which somehow means more than green old age. He was evidently impressed by my vitality and, on parting, assured me, using English for the first time, that I was a 'stout Englishman.' Vitality or no vitality, I kept on professing 11 years more, but during that time attentive readers of *Brief Mention* must have noticed how often I have adverted to the gruesome subject, how often I have tempted to apply to my own case the classical symptoms of the decline of life.

One of those symptoms is the propensity to frequent farewells, a failing common to actors and singers who have passed their prime. I remember many such cases. Two especially stand out in my memory. One is the case of Déjazet, who on one of my visits to Paris re-appeared in the rôle of Mimi Bamboche; the other is that of Adelina Patti, whose début I witnessed in my youth, and whose last appearance I saw in Baltimore in 1893, when I christened the diva, "dia apate." So I, too, am guilty of farewells. In the last number of the JOURNAL I bade farewell to Persius.

To Pindar I shall probably never say farewell, until I bid the world good night. But Pindar's farewell to the world is another matter. In my student's years in Germany I was taught to be an admirer of Platen, as I have confessed in my Essays and Studies. Among my favourites was a sonnet on the Death of Pindar. Not long ago, trying to work in the dark, I found that I could recall only half of the poem, but while awaiting a transcript by a friendly hand, the familiar story framed itself into a sonnet of my own, only part of which is due to Platen. The part of Platen's sonnet that escaped my memory betrays his well-known egotism. No one but Platen would have dreamed that a wish for a death like Pindar's would have involved any comparison between the two poets in life or genius. One remembers Balaam's prayer for the death of the righteous. At any rate, I am tempted to tax the indulgence of my readers by reproducing the two versions.

Ich möchte, wenn ich sterbe, wie die lichten
Gestirne schnell und unbewusst erleichen,
Erliegen möcht ich einst des Todes Streichen,
Wie Sagen uns vom Pindaros berichten.

Ich will ja nicht im Leben oder Dichten
Den grossen Unerreichlichen erreichen,
Ich möcht', o Freund, ihm nur im Tode gleichen;
Doch höre nun die schönste der Geschichten!

Er sass im Schauspiel, vom Gesang bewegt,
 Und hatte, der ermüdet war, die Wangen
 Auf seines Liebings schönes Knie gelehrt:
 Als nun der Chöre Melodien verklungen,
 Will wecken ihn, der ihn so sanft geheget,
 Doch zu den Göttern war er heimgegangen.

THE DEATH OF PINDAR

When I depart on God's appointed day,
 Quick and unconscious passage be my lot,
 Like stars' that quit the sky and tarry not,
 Unlike the comet's train which fades away.

Such was the end of Pindaros, they say:
 The theatre at Argos holds the spot
 Where, heedless of the play's soul-stirring plot,
 The weary bard in peaceful slumber lay,

A perfect image of serene repose,
 His grey head resting on his favourite's knee;
 His sleep grew deeper as the play went on;

The play was o'er, the audience rustling rose,
 The boy essayed to wake him tenderly,—
 In vain, for Pindar to the gods was gone.

ANNOUNCEMENT

After forty years of service, service curtailed since 1916 by impaired health and of late by impaired vision, the Senior Editor of the *American Journal of Philology* feels himself constrained, in the interests of the *Journal* itself, to relinquish even the semblance of editorial work. The recent management of the publication, which has been almost wholly in the hands of my friend and colleague, Professor Miller, is an ample guarantee for the future of the *Journal*, which will continue to bear evidence of his sound judgment, exemplary accuracy, and unremitting devotion. At the close of the twenty-fifth volume, I gave in retrospect a history of the *Journal* to which so much of my life has been dedicated. The last fifteen years have added little that is characteristic to the record. The privilege of dying in harness has been denied me, and henceforth I must surrender to the claims of the too long neglected claims of the contemplative life. Rachel must have her rights.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-155 W. 25th St., New York, for material furnished.

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